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LIBRARY NOTES

A BULLETIN ISSUED FOR

The Friends of Duke University Library

September 1969

Number 41

DUKE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY · DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

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THE DUKE MANUSCRIPT OF ANTONIO BECCARIA

ROBERT A. VAN KLUYVE

FEW MOMENTS in literary scholarship are as exciting as those of the discovery of a manuscript of an unknown text; and as Professor William H. Willis noted in the April, 1965, issue of *Library Notes*, such a discovery has been made in the Trent Collection of the Duke Medical Center Library. This volume in a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century binding was found to contain six manuscripts of medical and literary texts bound together in helter-skelter disorder. These documents have now been carefully separated and individually bound, the medical texts being returned to the Trent Collection, and the literary materials being deposited in the University Rare Book Room. One of the latter group, now Duke University MS. Lat. 37¹, is especially interesting because it contains the only surviving copies, so far as is known, of 37 Latin elegiac poems and epigrams by Antonio Beccaria, a fifteenth-century Italian man of letters.

Beccaria, whose name is spelled in various fashions, was born in Verona around 1400 and became a student of the illustrious Mantuan teacher, Vittorino da Feltre. After having grounded himself in Greek and Latin poetics and rhetoric and having already achieved some reputation as a writer of amorous verse, Beccaria was recommended by the Papal Collector in England, Piero del Monte, for the position of secretary to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. When Beccaria went to England in the winter of 1438-39, he quickly distinguished himself by translating several anti-Arian tracts of St. Athanasius from Greek to Latin. While in the Duke's service, Beccaria also translated eleven of Plutarch's *Lives* and reportedly translated Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*; his only extant translation of Aristotle, however, is *De admirandis naturae*. He also translated that savage diatribe against women, Boccaccio's *Corbaccio*, from Italian to Latin probably in 1441 or shortly thereafter, for it was then that Eleanor Cobham, Humphrey's mistress (whom he had made the Duchess of Gloucester), was condemned for heresy, necromancy, and treason.

In addition to making these trans-

¹ Duke University MS. Lat. 37 is on Italian paper of the middle 15th cent., Briquet watermark 11825 (Vicence, 1450-54; Crème, 1450; Bavière, 1454-56), trimmed to 155 × 217 mm. unruled, bearing 22-28 lines on each page; 15 folios (the last folio is cut away from a gathering of 8 sheets), written in a clear, graceful Italian humanistic script. The poems of Beccaria are on ff. 8^v-15^v.

lations and attending to the routine of Humphrey's formal correspondence, Beccaria seems to have been instrumental in arranging contacts for the Duke with other Italian humanists and in advising book purchases and suggesting copyists. In the absence of specific information, it is impossible to estimate his influence upon Humphrey's selection of books; but, because

they became the nucleus of Oxford's first important library, it is a boon to know anything about the tastes and character of Humphrey's literary agent. One poem that is specifically addressed to Humphrey bears on the debate of whether he was niggardly in his patronage or whether those who complained against him were in fact greedy for more than had been promised:

Ad principem Hunfredum

*Saepe mihi dicis: siquid, Becaria, voles, me
Mane petas, quoniam mane petita dabo.
Mane peto, sed me capis, optime princeps,
Ast ego nil capio et vespere deinde petam.
Vespere cumque peto, te dicis mane daturum.
Mane venit, nihil est quod mihi mane datur.
Quid modo vis faciam si vespere, si quoque mane,
Nil mihi das, princeps, id nisi mane dabo?
Verum ego te deinceps repetam quamcumque per horam,
Vespere cum princeps sis quoque mane mihi.
(ff. 10^{r-v})*

(You often tell me, "Whatever you want, Beccaria, you should ask in the morning, since in the morning I will grant requests." I ask in the morning, but you took me in, noble prince; but I took nothing in, and then I ask in the evening. And when I ask in the evening, you say it will be given in the morning. Morning comes, what is given to me in the morning is: nothing. How do you want me to manage, if morning and night you give me noth-

ing, O prince, except "I will give it tomorrow?" Truly I should ask you every hour, since you are a prince to me both morning and night.)

Several other verses have topical interest, among them an epitaph to Leonardo Aretino (Bruni); as Aretino had quarreled with Humphrey, it is unlikely that Beccaria showed his distich to his employer. The verses were probably written shortly after Aretino's death in 1444:

Leonardo Aretino disticon

*Hic decus elloquii et romanae gloria linguae
Conditur. heu, cuinam deseris arma pater?
(f. 13^v)*

(Here is buried the splendor of eloquence and the glory of the Roman language. Alas, father, to whom have you abandoned your weapons? [The

last phrase alludes to passages in both Cicero and Quintillian].) Another epitaph pays graceful tribute to his old teacher, Vittorino da Feltre:

Vittorino feltrensi disticon

Plangite, pierides latiae, lacrimate, camene:

Qui iacet hoc tumolo vester alumnus erat.

(f. 13^r)

(Let the Muses of Latium grieve, and the Muses [of Greece] weep: who lies in this tomb was your nursling.)

These examples are not representa-

tive of our collection, which is predominantly satiric, erotic, or both. Before offering instances of these found in our collection, I should like to present an occasional poem:

De Micipsa venatore et catella eius amica

Cum micipsa canes aleret venator hyberus,

Ut lepores caperent et sequerentur apros,

Unica erat, thalami interius fidissima custos,

Lamberet ut dominum blanda catella suum.

Cumque alios silvae saltusque ac lustra iuuant,

Servabat tacitam sola catella domum.

Non erat illa ferae sectatrix sanguinis atri,

Nec lepores nec apros nec cupiebat aves,

Blanditiis sed freta suis technaque pelasga

Querebat facilem mungere semper herum.

*Qui [MS: Quid], quod et est gracilis levibusque ac
molibus annis,*

Nocte dieque tamen fercula semper habet.

(ff. 8^v-9^r)

(When Micipsa, the Spanish hunter, fed his dogs so that they might capture rabbits and track boars, there was one, a most faithful inner guard of the house, who would lick her master like a fawning puppy. And while the others helped in the woods and groves and marshes, she alone protected the silent house. She was no lover of the black blood of savage beasts, and yearned not

for rabbits or boars or birds, but trusting to her caresses and Greek cunning, she always tried to nuzzle [lit., to wipe her nose on] her good-natured master, who, because she was skinny and in her light and delicate years, night and day always had a bowl [for her].)

Considering that Micipsa was known as a patron of learning, that Greek cunning is rewarded with a full bowl, and

that Beccaria was obviously not a warrior, the possibility of an allegorical

intention is unavoidable. No such ambiguity is present in his verse about the generous Felix:

De felice viro liberali

*Semper habet felix aliquid quod donet amico;
Quid faciat credis siquid amica petit?
Cimbala devolvit, loculos, chrysendeta, cystas
Obferat ut cunni munera digna sui.
Omnibus est largus, sed largior ipse puellis;
Larga etiam fiet blanda puella sibi.*

(f. 9^r)

(Felix always has something that he can give to a friend; what do you think he might do if his mistress asked for anything? He would pour forth cymbals, caskets, vessels inlaid with gold; he would offer chests as gifts worthy of her favor. He is generous to everyone; may some charming girl be generous indeed to him.)

Regrettably, Beccaria himself seems to have experienced little English generosity, for when he returned to Verona in the winter of 1445-46, he was penniless. There is no reason to think that he was discharged from his secretariat; more than likely he left of his own volition in view of the increasing turbulence of Humphrey's political problems. As evidence of their continued friendship, Beccaria sent another manu-

script of St. Athanasius to Humphrey, an event which must be dated soon after his repatriation, for Humphrey was assassinated in 1447.

Beccaria entered the Church, probably soon after his arrival in Verona, and became treasurer of the Cathedral when his friend, Ermolao Barbaro, became Bishop of Verona in 1456. Beccaria is not known to have entered public life thereafter, but his defense of classical studies—three ringing orations against the conservative forces who would have abolished reading pagan poetry—testifies to his continued literary activity. His will indicates that he died in April, 1474; and since he bequeathed over a hundred books to his convent, we may infer that his later years were comfortable.

THE *TOKEN*: HAWTHORNE AND A NINETEENTH-CENTURY GIFT BOOK

LEO A. WEIGANT

THE NEARLY complete run of the *Token* now kept in the Rare Book Room of the Duke Library provides a tool of peculiar usefulness and interest for scholars. These "annuals," or Christmas gift books, issued for each year from 1828 to 1842, are of particular significance to students of American literature in that they were the setting for the initial appearance of a good number of Hawthorne's tales. They also are of value in a more general sense as indicators of the popular taste of mid-nineteenth century America.

It was the former context that first drew my attention to the *Token*. Working on a study of the relationship of Hawthorne's descriptive writing to the contemporary aesthetics of the picturesque, I had hoped to find illustrations for at least some of the stories done in an appropriately picturesque style. Unfortunately for my immediate purposes, none of Hawthorne's tales are illustrated at all. Further examination uncovered the reason. The dozen or so "embellishments," usually steel engravings, in a given volume were chosen solely for an artistic merit which was supposedly intrinsic in them: Instead of being decorations for literary pieces, the paintings so reproduced were themselves "illustrated," general-

ly by bits of poetry. Thus, in the 1834 issue, an engraving of a Rembrandt named "Peasant Girl" is faced by three stanzas of hack verse with exactly the same title, signed by "W." (Fig. 1.)

In spite of their small, dark format, these engravings were one of the main elements in the success of the annuals in the late 1820's and 1830's. They were not the first such work in their time—the Philadelphia *Port Folio* had carried line engravings "more or less regularly" for at least a decade before, according to Ralph Thompson's standard work, *American Literary Annuals and Gift Books*¹—nor were they the best. In fact, a certain effort of the historical imagination is necessary for the modern reader to understand their appeal.

Crucial to that effort is an awareness of the picturesque conventions of the era. They stressed irregularity of outline (old ruins, craggy rocks and grotesque trees are the mainstays), rough surfaces or textures (rippling waters are contrasted with untended meadows, shaggy animals and trees whose leaves seem to consist largely of masses of puffed rice cereal stuck together), and contrasting light effects (framed by

¹ New York, 1936, p. 39.

dark trees, highlighted figures in the middle-ground usually watch or are set off by a rather shadowy backdrop of woods, ruins, mountain scenery or lakes which are, in turn, contrasted with a hazy, reassuring sunset).

The theory of the picturesque had originally grown up to explain the appeal of works whose intricacy held the eye, leading it from one detail to another, thereby running counter to the eighteenth century's emphasis on clarity, order and ready comprehensibility. By the time of the *Token*, however, this theory had become a set convention and its readers probably responded rather uncritically to an amorphously felt prettiness in the plates by Thomas Cole, A. B. Durand, Washington Allston, Robert Weir² (cf. his "Sun Set on the Hudson," Fig. 2.), G. P. A. Healy and others.

If we dwell on the admitted lack of outstanding artistic value in the pieces chosen for these Christmas gift books, we run the risk of overlooking their value as indices of popular taste. In an age when works of art were unavailable to the burgeoning middle classes, who could not afford proof sets of engravings, had no museums offering inexpensive quality prints for sale, and tended to be more emotional than discriminating in manifesting a growing cultural awareness, these books were a means of satisfying a felt cultural and

social need. The publishers knew this and spent two to three times as much on their pictures as on their literary fare.³

That, in itself, was a fact Hawthorne knew all too well. Samuel P. Goodrich, editor of the *Token*, had paid Hawthorne seventy-five cents a page for "The Gentle Boy" in 1832, and an average of nine dollars a story for the nine published in the 1837 issue.⁴ This was at a time when a writer such as Catharine Maria Sedgwick regularly was getting \$50 a story. Beyond that, when we remark that Hawthorne still had not seen his name credited in the *Token* after years as a major contributor, we have to wonder how Goodrich could square his treatment of authors with his oft professed aim of furthering American arts and letters.

The answer, of course, is largely practical. As Hawthorne's biographer, Randall Stewart, puts it, Goodrich simply "did not want it to be known that he was drawing so much of his material from one author."⁵ Yet if the annuals did not make Hawthorne's name, they did give the writer enough circulation to create an appreciative audience for "the Author of 'The Gentle Boy,'" when he reissued (hence the title) many of these pieces in *Twice-Told Tales*. In addition, it is fair to point out that the *Token* also published

³ Thompson, p. 12.

⁴ Thompson, p. 22.

⁵ *Nathaniel Hawthorne*, New Haven, 1961, p. 30.

² Cf. Robert Weir's "Sun Set on the Hudson," p. 133, of the 1846 reissue of the *Token*, 1838, with Poe's "misty mid region of Weir."

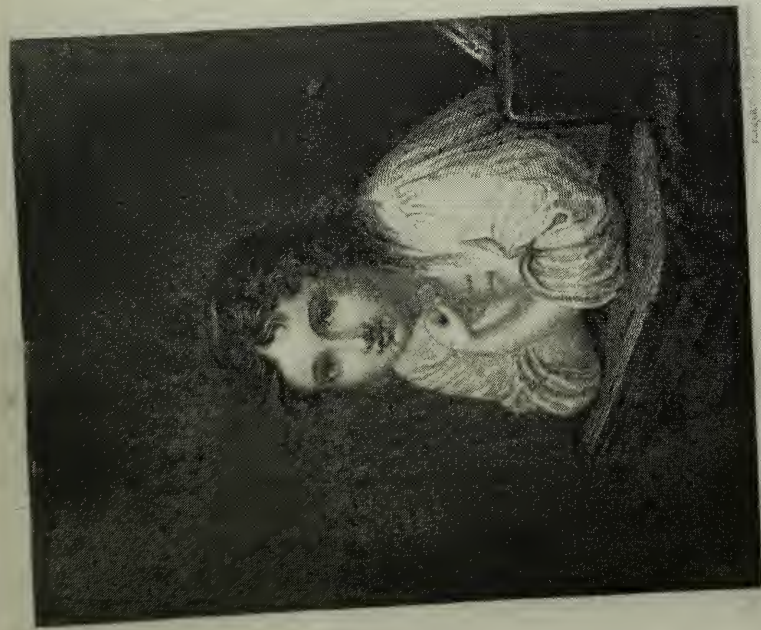
THE PEASANT GIRL.

Sweet daughter of content!
 Some dreary years have past,
 Since, fairest of the innocent,
 I gazed upon thee last.
 And still the thought of thee,
 Is like a beam of light,
 That glances on life's troubled sea,
 When all around is night.

I know not where thou art,
 Mock and confiding one!
 I only know that from my heart,
 Thy image has not gone.
 Thy looks of glad surprise,
 Thy curls of flowing jet,
 Thy smooth brow, and thy earnest eyes,
 I never shall forget.

I will believe that time
 Has pass'd, and harm'd thee not;
 That thou has been a fadefless prime,
 A calm secluded lot;
 That still thy brow is fair,
 Thy heart serene and mild;
 That thou art still unchanged by care—
 A happy peasant child!

W.



PEASANT GIRL

FIG. 1. "The Peasant Girl."



FIG. 2. "Sunset on the Hudson" by Robert Weir.

Holmes, Lowell, Longfellow, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Edward Everett and Nathaniel P. Willis along with dozens of lesser American writers.

Ultimately, though, it was those other, lesser lights who gave the *Token* its characteristic tone and quality, and it is in their plethora of sentimental fiction and poetry that we find the value of the series as a barometer of popular taste. Hawthorne, commenting on the enormous profits raked in by the likes of Lydia Huntley Sigourney, Catharine Maria Sedgwick, "Fanny Fern," Lydia M. Child, Mrs. S. J. Hale, and even "Mrs. Seba Smith," referred to them all as "a d---d mob of scribbling women." He went on, in this often cited remark, to observe that "I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash—and should be ashamed of myself if I did succeed." That was in 1855, but we can see the onset of this wave of sentimentality decades earlier in the *Tokens* which carried works such as "The Bridal Ring," "Blind Grandfather," "To a Fragment of Silk," "Written beneath a Youthful Portrait of Byron," and "The Purple Violet, or Mutual Love," to say nothing of Hawthorne's own "Sylph Etherege."

Easily the most valuable service these stories and "sketches" offer the modern reader is a contrast which illustrates Hawthorne's own craftsmanship. In his famous review of *Twice-Told Tales*, Poe praised Hawthorne's ability

to attain a "unity of effect." For anyone who takes the time to read through even a few of the *Token's* usual pieces—anecdotal conglomerations of "affecting" scenes, miniature moral essays, descriptive passages and forced endings—that dictum of Poe's will be a meaningful insight rather than a fact of literary history to be memorized.

This contrast is valuable in a broader sense, too. It shows something of the nature of the readership any author had to contend with in those days. "Contend" is the right word, for the primary values sought from the fiction of the annuals were escape from boredom and reassurance that life was neither complex nor threatening. It is no wonder, then, that the illustrations and the elaborate bindings together cost the publishers five to six times more than what they paid their authors. Their readers prized this specific form most of all as a status symbol, roughly analogous to the expensive artistic and photographic productions referred to today as "coffee table books." In his *The Popular Book*, James D. Hart aptly sums up the annual's place in American culture by noting that

the book, of course, need not be read; it was merely a symbol. It proved that its cultivated owner loved the arts enough to spend good money on them, and, for a few dollars, allowed her to assume something of the character of the patron generally associated with society of wealth and breeding. For those unable to show

their devotion to culture by attending such displays as Jenny Lind's concerts, the ballets of Fanny Ellsler, or the violin recitals of Ole Bull, the gift book on the parlour table was an acceptable substitute.⁶

If we have to admit, in the end, that the *Token* ultimately was only one of our first attempts to cash in on the then rather new custom of giving Christmas presents, we also have to qualify such a description by pointing out that Goodrich did offer circulation,

and some measure of remuneration, to American artists and authors, at a time when most of the fiction printed in the country consisted of pirated reprints of English work. If the literary quality were low, it was what Goodrich's readers wanted, and what his contributors sent him: To his everlasting credit, however, he could and did recognize a Hawthorne and, most importantly for a young author who had previously published only in his hometown paper, print him.

⁶ Berkeley, 1963, p. 88.

THE LITERATURE OF SCIENCE: THE CHEMISTRY LIBRARY¹

PAUL M. GROSS

THOSE interested in other disciplines quite often associate scientific activity primarily with the laboratory, its apparatus and equipment, or with field studies or exploration. While it is true that these associations do characterize much scientific research and often distinguish it from other types of investigation and scholarship, nevertheless, there is ground common to all the fields of knowledge in their library and literature collections.

Such collections in the sciences have a dual function. They provide the store where the millions of "facts," whether data, measurements, descriptions or other information, form the substance from which man's concept of nature and the physical world is built. This information is most varied in character, including, for example, such disparate items as lists of the melting points of chemical compounds, data about the sun's radiation, the temperatures of the waters of the Antarctic, the unique optical characteristics of a hawk's eye, the

size and distances of stars, and the nature and kind of organisms in man.

Not only does this store of information vary greatly in kind and type but also much of it has a component in time and, as a consequence, provides the skeleton for the history of science and of scientific ideas. It is true that much of the great body of scientific knowledge has been acquired in this century; nevertheless, portions of this store are of great antiquity, such as the astronomical concepts from pre-Babylonian times. Thus, an adequate scientific literature collection must have great breadth of current coverage of the field, and, in addition, reach well back in time if it is to provide properly for the needs of those using the library for research and teaching.

Beyond being a source of factual material and information, a good scientific library serves a second most important function: it is a repository where the growth and development of scientific theory takes place and can be traced and its ramifications followed. This function is fulfilled mainly through the use of the files of scientific journals and the availability of the major sets of reference works and monographs. A large and representative subscription list of the major current journals is

¹ During the past four decades the departmental libraries at Duke have become noteworthy, both in size and content. In order that the Friends may know more about them, *Library Notes* is planning a series of articles on their history and development. The article written by Dr. Gross on the Chemistry Library is the first in the series.

highly desirable. Their pages are an arena in which new theories are tentatively put forth and developed—often to be ruthlessly mowed down by sounder logic or new experimental evidence.

We are fortunate at Duke in having in the Departmental Chemistry Library a collection which serves these two general functions. Furthermore, the quality and scope of this collection is such as to place it in the very top rank of chemistry libraries in the South and Southeast and well up among the major national collections in the field of chemistry across the country. The basis of this strength may be seen from a few figures relating to the collection. The library has 22,444 volumes, and acquisitions average about 800 items per year.

One of the factors that contribute heavily toward the strong position this collection holds among chemical libraries is the very large number of current journals to which it subscribes. These number some 243 and are published from thirty-odd countries around the world. It has been a long standing policy in the operation of the library to make every effort to complete the back files of all chemical journals to which the library currently subscribes. The success of this effort over the past four decades is apparent from an inspection of files of the leading journals, not only in English but also in German, French and Italian.

In all, these current journals represent chemical research publication or technical information in some eleven different languages. In earlier years the bulk of publication relating to the field of chemistry was to be found in English, German and French. The largest number of such publications was in English language journals, followed closely by those written in German and then, at a substantially lower level, by those published in French. During the last two decades this order has changed dramatically. While publication in English still carries the bulk of chemical literature, publication in Russian and in Japanese has increased since the Second World War to such an extent that the amount relating to chemistry published in these two languages is now somewhat greater than that in German and much more voluminous than that in French. These shifts have obvious implications for the language training of students planning to enter careers in chemistry in either teaching or research.

The question often has been asked as to why such a library should subscribe to and build up its files of journals published in some of the lesser used languages, for example, Czech or Swedish. The answer lies in the nature of the use of the material in a chemical library collection. During the day-by-day course of carrying on chemical work, whether of a routine or a research nature, it is often necessary to refer to the

earlier chemical literature for detailed information about an experimental procedure or even more often for numerical data relating to the chemical compounds under investigation in the laboratory. The chemical compounds which have been made and described in the literature now run to many hundreds of thousands. This number continues to increase rapidly each year, having grown from some one hundred thousand known compounds about the end of the last century. This situation presents a retrieval, indexing and classifying problem of the first order and one subject to some degree of error, particularly in the repeated transcription of numerical data. Even though the worker may not have a command of a less commonly used language, for example Swedish, it is not too difficult with the aid of a translation dictionary to verify from the original journal source a figure for, say, the melting point of an organic compound which may be in use currently in the laboratory.

Such ready *current* access to the literature on a day-by-day basis is one of the principal arguments for the establishment of a departmental chemical library within a laboratory rather than the inclusion of such a collection in the major complex of a large central library. Many arguments, both pro and con, can be made for the establishment of special departmental libraries in place of a complete centralization of all

materials in a main library. While no general rule is applicable to all disciplines, one criterion for considering such a departmental library would be whether the field or discipline is one in which repeated and often short-time use of the material in the collection is inherent in the nature of the research and teaching being carried out in the field.

A second equally potent argument for such departmental libraries is the value of proximity and ease of access to the literature of the field. This is especially helpful in the training of graduate and advanced students. Of almost equal importance is the fact that the teaching and research staff will tend to take a much more vital and active interest in the development of the library if it is close at hand and if part of the responsibility to build and operate it is theirs. In fact, the continued interest and concern of faculty and staff have been the principal factors contributing to the growth and status of the Department of Chemistry Library. Today the holdings of this library, together with the related biochemical material in the Medical School Library, place Duke high in the first rank nationally of chemical library collections.

The beginnings of the Department of Chemistry Library go back to those of the University itself in the late twenties and early thirties. At first a small collection of the most important

current journals and some of the recent back files were withdrawn (after considerable discussion) from the then rather meager chemistry collection in the main library of the old campus. To these was added a representative selection of reference monographs, tables and some textbooks. This modest collection was housed in a small room on the third floor of the old East Campus Science Building—a location which, in retrospect, was quite hazardous. This building was of brick, factory-type construction with wooden floors and stairs and was, in no sense, fireproof. The only virtue of the location of this embryonic departmental library was its close proximity to the chemistry laboratories, which were also on the third floor of the building. Also, the location on the third and top floor, rather than lower down, meant that the frequently occurring leakage from the chemical laboratory sink systems did not reach the books but was passed on to the other science departments on the lower floors—also a subject for considerable discussion.

During this same period plans for the West Campus were being developed, and they included those for a new chemistry building. The persons who formulated them showed great foresight in providing space for the library in a prime location on the second floor of the building. The space allotted proved fairly adequate to house the growing library for almost a quarter of a century.

The vision of those who planned the size of this library, adequate as it was at the time, did not foresee the burgeoning of scientific research and the advent of the very substantial Federal funding for research which has taken place in the past twenty years. Chemistry, along with other areas of science, has greatly expanded in scope and in the depth and sophistication of its instrumentation and methodology. This has resulted in an enormous, worldwide expansion of chemical research, both in industry and in academic institutions, in the past decade. With this, the report and journal literature of chemistry has increased proportionately and many more pages of chemical journals are being printed and many new journals have started publication. This increase in activity has been so great that it is foreseeable that as much new material will be published in the next ten years as has appeared in the field in the past quarter of a century. In the new chemistry building now completed on the West Campus provision has been made for a departmental library adequate to handle this impending avalanche of chemical publication in the years ahead.

In the course of the development of the chemistry library, a number of favorable circumstances and events made possible the acquisition of the long runs of the journal back files, which are the library's greatest asset and its principal strength as a collection. In the late twenties as the funds

resulting from Mr. Duke's gift became available, the necessity of greatly strengthening the libraries of the University was clearly seen as one of the prerequisites for building a strong graduate school. Therefore, substantial annual sums were allocated as capital funds for the purchase of book collections, back journals and serials. The level of such capital book acquisitions was such that for a considerable number of years the annual expenditures of the Duke Library were high in the rank of such annual expenditures by the major university libraries of the country.

As part of the program of capital acquisition of books, the chemistry library was able to acquire a large number of long, fairly complete runs of the major journals in the field. At the same time the basic handbooks, reference works and collections of tables were also bought. Fortunately for the growth of the library most of these purchases were made in the depression years following the market collapse of 1929, and the available funds went far in acquiring the needed books whether the purchases were made in this country or abroad.

In this manner some of the library's most prized acquisitions were obtained, such as the extensive runs—many in original bindings and some of these in half leather—of the *Berichte der Deutschen Chemisches Gesellschaft* and Liebig's *Annalen*, to mention two of the basic German journals of great his-

toric significance in the field of chemistry. The *Berichte* started publication in 1870 and the *Annalen* in 1832. These, however, are predated by the *Annales de Chimie*, the French journal, the first volume of which appeared in 1789. The file of this journal is one of the best in the library. The early volumes are clearly printed on high-grade linen rag paper which, even today, after some 180-odd years, many of which were spent in the atmosphere of a chemical laboratory, still shows relatively little yellowing with age.

Some indication of the early success of this acquisition program is provided by a study of Southern Chemical Progress made under the sponsorship of the National Research Council by J. E. Mills and published in the fall of 1930. One facet of this study was a survey of the library resources of Southern institutions and especially of their chemistry collections. This survey showed that Duke ranked first, mainly because of the large number (199) of complete sets of back files of periodicals which it had. The total for all such sets, including incomplete ones, was 287 and the total collection amounted to between five and six thousand volumes. The current subscriptions then totalled 250. Thus, from the small beginnings in the third floor room of Crowell in the early twenties the Departmental Chemistry Library had in some half-dozen years emerged by 1930 as the top ranking library resource in the

Southern region in the field of Chemistry.

This unusually strong chemistry library at Duke has had considerable significance in connection with one of the current developments taking place here in this region of the state: the Research Triangle enterprise. A substantial number of the large industrial research facilities which have been established here in the last six to ten years depend either directly or indirectly on chemistry. In a number of instances, the availability of the unusually strong chemical literature collections at Duke and at other educational institutions in the area was among the factors leading to decisions by these industries to locate their research facilities in the Research Triangle Park.

Aside from the technical and scientific aspects of the Chemistry Department Library, there are a number of things of more general interest on its shelves. Examination of some of the back files, running over a century or more, provides an object lesson in the quality of paper and paper making. Thus, by contrast with the fine quality of the French linen papers used in the *Annales de Chimie*, mentioned above, one finds in a number of journals published about the middle of the last century such poor quality paper that the pages have turned a dirty brown. This happened when paper produced from wood by the then new sulphite pulp process was first used. As this process was improved in the latter years of the

century, the paper quality again improves.

The confirmed bibliophile will also find a number of things of interest in the collection, for example the title pages of the first nineteen volumes of *Annales de Chimie*. The first volume issued in 1789 before the French Revolution has listed among its editors Lavoisier, Berthollet, Fourcroy and Baron de Dietrich. Four years later in 1793, at the height of the Revolution, in Volume 18 Dietrich's name has disappeared and the listing now reads Lavoisier, Berthollet, Fourcroy and others. Volume 19 does not appear until 1797 and the editorship now is "Par les Citoyens Guyton, Berthollet, Fourcroy. . . ." Lavoisier's name is absent as he was beheaded in May 1794. These last two volumes (18 and 19) and other early volumes carry an inked stamp on their title page, indicating that they belonged at one time to the "Société d'Émulation d'Anvers," evidently the library of one of the early philosophical societies of Antwerp.

One other entry on these title pages is the handwritten one in black ink which tells the accession number of the Duke University Library. On the title page of Volume 1 of this series this number is 97,868—a figure for accessions somewhat short of 100,000. Since November 28, 1927, the day that this periodical file was marked for accession, the University Library and the library of the Department of Chemistry have come a long way.

THE JOHNSTON-McMULLEN FAMILY PAPERS

VIRGINIA R. GRAY

FROM the last member of the John Francis McMullen family of Washington, D.C., the Flowers Collection has secured a large, varied, and distinguished collection of manuscripts. Beginning in 1778 at the time of the American Revolution, the papers span over one hundred seventy-five years of the history of the United States. Two families, the Johnstons of Virginia and the McMullens of Maryland and Pennsylvania, are the focal points in this long chronicle.

The Johnstons of Abingdon, Virginia, and their kin began as pioneers who had penetrated into Kentucky by the end of the Revolution. When Colonel John Floyd was killed by the Indians near Floyd's Station, Kentucky, in 1783, intermarriage among Buchanans, Floyds, Prestons, Johnstons, and Breckinridges was already forming a large clan which eventually was to contribute governors of Virginia and Kentucky, Confederate generals, and United States congressmen, senators, and other officials.

When the distinguished manuscript collector, Lyman Draper of the Wisconsin Historical Society, visited Letitia (Preston) Floyd in 1842, she related for him the story of her pioneer family in the days of Indian warfare in Ken-

tucky. Mrs. Floyd, born there in 1778, was married in 1804 to Governor John Floyd of Virginia. Her relatives wrote many letters which became chronicles of life in the early nineteenth century. Of note is correspondence from her brother, Colonel Francis Smith Preston, who operated the Abingdon salt works so vital to pioneer families of southwestern Virginia.

John Buchanan Floyd, the son of Letitia (Preston) Floyd, became the United States Secretary of War under President James Buchanan and later a controversial Confederate general. His early papers are difficult to find, but the Johnston-McMullen manuscripts contain his correspondence with his family and yield glimpses of his early official career. The Manuscript Department contains many of his official papers as a Confederate general.

Eliza Lavalette, another child of Letitia (Preston) Floyd, married George Frederick Holmes (1820-1897), who became a distinguished professor of history and political science at the University of Virginia. Their letters to Mrs. Holmes' family form a valuable addition to the Holmes Papers, also in the Manuscript Department.

Nicketti Buchanan Floyd, still another child of Governor and Mrs. John

Floyd, was married in 1841 to John Warfield Johnston, the United States Senator from Virginia, 1870-1883. Their family papers are supplemented by Senator Johnston's writings on the Civil War and Virginia reconstruction politics.

With this marriage a large segment of Johnston family correspondence enters the collection. Senator Johnston's father, Dr. John Warfield Johnston, was the brother of General Joseph Eggleston Johnston (1807-1891), U.S. and C.S.A. Armies, and of United States Congressman Charles Clement Johnston. Their letters to their family supplement those of Dr. Johnston. A graduate of the University of Pennsylvania Medical School in the days of Dr. Benjamin Rush, Dr. Johnston also corresponded with the noted physician and surgeon, Dr. John Peter Mettauer (1787-1875), who had been his classmate in Philadelphia.

Thus the entire Johnston-Floyd correspondence is of great interest from the standpoint of the social, genealogical, and political history of antebellum Virginia.

With the marriage in 1871 of Lavalette Johnston (1850-1941) to John Francis McMullen (1830-1900) the second and parallel group of the Johnston-McMullen Papers comes into focus. Lavalette Johnston met her husband when she came to Washington with her father, United States Senator John W. Johnston. The McMullens had Irish

roots, as did their cousins, the Dysarts. Peter McMullen had settled at Sinking Valley, Blair County, Pennsylvania, about 1783. His son, John McMullen, became an inventor who moved in 1846 to Baltimore to enter business. Their papers reflect their interest in farming and machinery. John McMullen invented various knitting machines, one of which made fish netting and won a first prize when displayed at the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London in 1851. His letters written during his London trip, as well as those from his cousins in Gort, Ireland, are accompanied by a large family correspondence in Pennsylvania.

From 1871 the collection centers in the Baltimore family of seven McMullen children. After moving to "Woodley," near Ellicott City, Maryland, the family finally settled in Washington. About 1900 Father John Bannister Tabb, the poet, sent both letters and verse to the McMullens.

Mary Floyd McMullen became the companion-secretary of the Misses Jane and Alice Riggs, who lived in the famous mansion of George Washington Riggs on Eye Street in Washington. Hence some of the Riggs papers from early Washington have found their way into this collection.

The Riggs family was related to John Agg, an early political journalist and editor of the *Washington Republican*. The Agg papers contain political poems, articles, satires, and letters from

the 1820's to the 1840's, referring to such public figures as Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, and Daniel Webster. Even Webster's oratorical mannerisms are analyzed. Among the miscellany from early Washington is the "Receipt for Whitewash such as is used on the President's house."

George Washington Riggs (1813-1881) founded a great banking fortune, which was divided among his heirs. Accounts of Alice and Jane Riggs for many years for moneys from their father's estate are followed by many papers in the suit brought by Elisha Francis and Thomas Laurason Riggs against Mary McMullen. The Riggs art treasures in the Eye Street Mansion were bequeathed by Miss Jane Riggs to Miss McMullen, a contested legacy which the courts of the District of Columbia upheld.

Dysart McMullen, the youngest child

of Lavalette (Johnston) and John Francis McMullen, became a writer of poems, articles, and short novels. His service in the American Red Cross in France in World War I is narrated in many letters he wrote from Europe. Holograph manuscripts as well as printed copies of his writings are numerous.

Another brother, Joseph Benjamin McMullen, became an inventor. His papers form a large segment of business letters, patents, and blueprints, as he struggled to perfect folding automobile tops, dishwashers, planes, bombs, and houses.

This large collection of manuscripts is accompanied by diaries, scrapbooks, and photographs, together with many invitations from the Presidents of the United States to White House events. All serve to illustrate the lives of the families who contributed the papers.

NEWS OF THE LIBRARY

FROM EVOLUTION TO MAGIC

EACH year the Undergraduate Book Collectors Contest, sponsored by The Friends of the Library and the Gothic Book Shop, receives entries on subjects as varied as naval history, mushrooms, evolution, and legerdemain.

In 1968 Walter Guerry Green, III, a senior in Trinity College from Burlington, North Carolina, won the \$100 prize in books for his collection in the field of Military and Naval History and Science. Charles F. McLarty, a sophomore in Trinity College from Weaverville, North Carolina, won the \$60 prize in books for his collection on Railroading, with Emphasis on Steam Locomotives. The judges did not award a third prize in that contest.

The judges for the 1968 contest were Donn Michael Farris, Librarian of the Divinity School; John L. Lievsay, Professor of English; and John L. Sharpe, III, Curator of Rare Books.

In 1969 Kentwood D. Wells, a junior in Trinity College from Springfield, Virginia, won the first prize of \$100 in books for his collection on the Theory of Evolution: 1700-1900. Alwyn L. Featherston, a sophomore in Trinity College from Durham, North Carolina, won the second prize of \$60 in books for his collection in the field of Naval History. Thomas A. Neville, a junior

in Trinity College from Arlington, Virginia, won the third prize of \$40 in books for his collection on the Lore of Legerdemain. For the first time the judges awarded an honorable mention with a prize of \$20 in books to William M. Butler, a senior in Trinity College from Elizabethtown, North Carolina, for his collection in the field of Military History in World War II.

The judges for the 1969 contest were Donn Michael Farris, William B. Hamilton, Professor of History, and John L. Sharpe, III.

Kent Wells, the winner of the 1969 contest, was selected to receive one of the two runner-up prizes of \$200 in the Amy Loveman National Book Collectors Contest.

THE EARL AND THE THIEF

THE 1968 Friends of Duke University Library dinner was held on Thursday, May 9, in the Union Ballroom with 132 people in attendance. The speaker for the occasion was Mr. A. N. L. Munby, Librarian of King's College, Cambridge, who is noted for his biography of Sir Thomas Phillips, Bt., the famous nineteenth-century collector of manuscripts. The topic of Mr. Munby's talk was "The Earl and the Thief," a delightful tale of how the fourth Earl of Ashburnham was tricked into purchasing a great manu-

script treasure which had been stolen from the public libraries in France by Conte Libri Carucci della Sommaia.

FROM VERSE TO WORSE

THE 1969 Friends dinner was held on Thursday, April 17, in the Union Ballroom with 171 people in attendance. Mrs. Frances Gray Patton, one of North Carolina's best known writers, was the speaker for the occasion. Mrs. Patton presented her hearers with a lively introduction to the poetry of the mid-nineteenth-century South Carolinian, J. Gordon Coogler, whose little book of *Purely Original Verse* is among the holdings of the Rare Book Collection. Reviewers severely criticized the "purely original verse" of this romantic, but Coogler's naïveté prevented his understanding and appreciation of their satiric compliments. He even printed many of their review comments in the little volumes of his verse which he both printed and bound. Mrs. Patton captured the essence of Coogler and his poetry with the title of her presentation: "From Verse to Worse—the Short, Happy Life of J. Gordon Coogler."

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

AMONG The Friends are those members who have distinguished themselves as library patrons by their outstanding contributions to the Library. The Executive Committee wishes to

recognize the efforts of these men and women by electing them to Life Membership in The Friends. On November 22, 1967, the Committee elected the following members to that honorable group: Dr. Kenneth W. Clark, Dr. Allan H. Gilbert, Dr. Simon K. Heninger, Jr., and Dr. J. B. Rhine.

Dr. Clark, Professor Emeritus of the Duke Divinity School, is a long-time Friend. Since he came to Duke in 1931, he has contributed a number of Greek manuscripts, Bibles, and papyrus fragments, in addition to the unique collection of Manx literature. The collections of primary research materials for the study of Biblical literature have been developed through his constant interest and generosity.

Dr. Gilbert, Professor Emeritus of the Department of English, has generously supported the University Library by his services and gifts throughout the years of his distinguished career as a teacher, scholar, and collector of books. In every aspect he has contributed significantly to the value of the University Library as an important research institution.

Dr. Heninger, formerly Professor in the Department of English, made a major contribution through his special gift of over thirty titles of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books in the field of Italian literature.

Dr. Rhine, Director of the Foundation for Research on the Nature of Man, presented to the University Li-

brary in 1967 a check for \$5,000 to be used for the purchase of books. In 1968 he gave the archives, the correspondence and papers of the Institute of Parapsychology—now the Foundation for Research on the Nature of Man—from its foundation in 1934 to this decade.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee on October 23, 1968, Mrs. John. Elliott, Jr. was elected to Life Membership by the Committee for her generous contributions to the Library Endowment.

These new Life Members represent those patrons who are keenly aware that no library can be a great library without the assistance of its Friends. They are representative of the many unnamed individuals who contribute

regularly to the Library Endowment, who make financial contributions for the purchase of books, and who purchase and present books and manuscripts of interest to them. Their zeal to push back the shadows of ignorance is assurance to the future generations of students that the University Library will remain the true center of the University. To those men and women who unselfishly give of their goods and their services the University can never render adequate thanks and recognition. The fact that the Library—the center of the University—continues to be the symbol of the free quest for knowledge is a worthy testimony to those who continue to give both moral and financial support. To these Friends we tender our respectful thanks.

The Friends of Duke University Library

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*Please address all communications to:
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THE organization known as The Friends of Duke University Library was established in 1935 as a means of encouraging and coördinating activities directed toward the development of the Library. The organization has two major purposes:

To stimulate interest in the work of the Library and to further the realization of the present and future importance of the Library to the University's advancement;
To increase the usefulness of the Library to the University community and to scholars generally.

Annual membership in The Friends of the Library is extended to all persons who make monetary gifts or gifts of books, manuscripts, or other materials to the Library, or render services to the organization, to the value of five dollars each year. Life membership is accorded, upon vote of the Executive Committee of the Friends, to donors making outstanding contributions.

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LIBRARY NOTES



DUKE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY · DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

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William B. Hamilton

A Professor's Professor

Virginia R. Gray

THE MANUSCRIPT DEPARTMENT of Perkins Library has indeed been fortunate in its friendships. One of its most impressive collections of personal and professional papers has come from Professor William Baskerville Hamilton of the Department of History. His lifelong interest in research, in libraries and archives, and in British and American history has resulted in a group of manuscripts illustrative of his career as an historian and of his concern for the gathering of source materials in his field. Always an inspired teacher as well as a scholar, Professor Hamilton has not only considered the use of manuscripts in his own research and that of his colleagues but also has personally taught many a thrilled undergraduate in his classes in British history how to edit the papers he purchased in London and placed in the Manuscript Department.

PROFESSIONAL PAPERS

The Hamilton Papers, which now number about 30,000 items, began in the days when William Hamilton was an undergraduate at the University of Mississippi. They range from his personal letters and financial papers to his official correspondence as a

faculty member at Duke University; they include manuscripts of his own publications and those of students and authors whose work touched him as teacher or editor. Notable are personal memoranda and committee minutes involving events and activities at Duke University from the days of President William Preston Few until the present.

Professor Hamilton received an A.B. at the University of Mississippi in 1928, and acquired an A.M. in 1931 before he came to Duke University to write a dissertation in Mississippi history for his doctorate. In securing copies of records in the state archives, he made the acquaintance of Eudora Welty, the novelist; Nash Kerr Burger, who later became one of the editors of the *New York Times Book Review*; Mary W. Moore, a journalist and collector; and Hubert Creekmore, a writer of fiction. At Duke he wrote the dissertation, *American Beginnings in the Old Southwest: the Mississippi Phase*, under Professor Charles Sydnor. Miss Welty helped Mr. Hamilton by copying many early records in the Department of Archives and History in Jackson, Mississippi, the manuscripts of which remain in the Hamilton Papers. Also in the Hamilton Collection are a number of letters from Eudora Welty, whose fiction has grown in importance with the years since she visited the Mississippi Archives for him.

The Nash Kerr Burger correspondence began in 1934, and shortly thereafter William Hamilton started a long series of reviews of historical publications for the *New York Times Book Review*. These short essays are continued in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* and the *American Historical Review*. This interest in the early history of Mississippi led to seven publications between 1938 and 1968. Interest in editing and publication led Professor Hamilton to write in 1952 the history of the *South Atlantic Quarterly* on the fiftieth anniversary of its founding. He became editor of this periodical in 1957.

At this point it is pertinent to mention that the Perkins Library and the University Archives originated in old Trinity College with the inspired help of such historians as John Spencer Bassett and William Kenneth Boyd, both of whom stimulated their students to collect historical source materials. Professor Hamilton has continued this tradition and has also contributed many manuscripts to the papers of Professor Boyd, who became his father-in-law and who was the subject of a memorial by him in 1938.

During his tenure as a professor at Duke, Professor Hamilton has contributed to the administration of the University by serving on committees which represent almost every phase of its life. His papers reflect this involvement; correspondence, reports, minutes, and printed materials tell the story of the growth of the University. Presidents, deans, faculty, and students, all have received his spirited criticism as well as his sagacious advice. In the years to come, his personal reactions to the Duke chronology may become as significant as the actual records he has preserved. As is to be expected, his papers concern in some detail the affairs of the Department of History and of the Library Council. Interest in archives and record management has resulted in correspondence with many librarians. If anyone doubt the genuineness of this interest, let him read *What Scholars Expect of Library Cataloguing*, written by Professor Hamilton in 1955.

When his career as an instructor in history began in 1936, he found another able teacher, editor, and scholar at work as chairman of that department. William Thomas Laprade, who had received his doctorate from Johns Hopkins University, became a lifelong friend of William Hamilton. Their correspondence began in 1935, when Professor Hamilton made his first trip to England and so initiated his research in British Archives. The history of the British Empire and the British Commonwealth soon became his major field of research, writing, and collection.

When Professor Laprade retired as chairman of the Department of History in 1952, Professor Hamilton compiled "A Preliminary List of the Printed Writings of William Thomas Laprade."

Related to his interest in British history and to the career of Professor Hamilton as an editor is the large section of his papers concerning the British Commonwealth. To the Center for Commonwealth Studies at Duke University has come a succession of letters and papers, the result of symposia and conferences from which have emerged such works as *A Decade of the Commonwealth* (1966), *The Transmission of Ideas* (1968), and *The Nigerian Political Scene* (1962). To these volumes he contributed both as a scholar and as an editor.

In 1968 Professor Hamilton united his two interests, American and British history, in the essay, "The Transmission of English Law to the American Frontier," published in the *South*

Atlantic Quarterly. Here appeared a friend from his Mississippi research, Judge Thomas Rodney (1744-1811), whose territorial cases—"source material undefiled"—were included in *Anglo-American Law on the Frontier: Thomas Rodney and His Territorial Cases* (1953).

In the 1960s Professor Hamilton became interested in the history of an idea which carried him far afield from the British Public Record Office. As editor of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, he tried as early as 1959-1960 to secure an article for that periodical on the inception of the Research Triangle of North Carolina. By 1965 he himself began such a narrative, checking interviews with the founders of the Triangle against their correspondence. Mr. Romeo H. Guest of Greensboro emerged as the man who first had the idea of relating industry to the research potential of the three great universities in central North Carolina. Thus in the Hamilton Papers are originals and copies of letters and documents illuminating the beginning of the Research Triangle, the origin of which Professor Hamilton described in 1966 in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* and before the Historical Society of North Carolina.

The many facets of research and university life revealed in the Hamilton Papers confer upon their donor and our friend, William Baskerville Hamilton, the well-earned title of "Professor's Professor."

British Manuscript Collection

William R. Erwin, Jr.

PROFESSOR HAMILTON has directed the acquisition of most of the 30,000 items and 200 volumes of British manuscripts in the Perkins Library. He donated more than 7,000 of these manuscripts, which are now part of the Hamilton Collection. They date from the late eighteenth to the twentieth century and present a kaleidoscopic view of the affairs of church, state, and empire. They include the John Backhouse Papers (4,473 items): the largest collection, the only one that is an entire set of family records, and an illustration of the life of an upper middle-class British family throughout the nineteenth century. John Backhouse was private secretary to George Canning, 1816-1822, commissioner and receiver general of the excise and under secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1827-1842. His two sons were diplomats in China and Cuba in the 1840s and 1850s. He collected paintings and had literary and artistic connections that add a cultural dimension to materials dominated by family and public affairs. (Special notice is given this collection in subsequent paragraphs.) The Bandinel Family Papers are related to those of Backhouse since James Bandinel was his colleague at the Foreign Office. Bandinel's son James was an Anglican clergyman and author,

and his grandson James Julius Frederick was in the consular service in Manchuria later in the 1800s.

The liberal tradition in English politics is discernible in batches of letters that have survived from the careers of several prominent individuals. John Nicholas Fazakerley had a long career in the House of Commons, 1812-1841. Charles Alexander Gore was private secretary to Lord John Russell during the 1830s and thereafter was commissioner of woods, forests, and land revenues for forty-five years. A politician and philanthropist, Lord Noel-Buxton served in the House of Commons between 1905 and 1930, first as a Liberal and later as a member of the Labour Party. His extensive papers (1,226 items) document his social concern in both domestic and foreign affairs. Educational reform in the 1890s and early 1900s appears in the correspondence of Sir Almeric William FitzRoy, clerk of the Privy Council and private secretary to the Duke of Devonshire while Lord President of the Council.

Foreign and colonial affairs dominate several collections. The papers of Frederick William Chesson (d. 1888) concern his career as secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society. The welfare of the Negro population was also an important consideration in the administration of Sir James Carmichael-Smyth, who was governor in the Bahamas and in British Guiana during the 1830s. Sir Reginald Wingate's letters and reports of 1890-1891 document military operations in the Egyptian Sudan.

Thirty-five letters of Lord Cromer in 1899-1905 were addressed to the editor of the *Egyptian Gazette*. A century earlier, Townsend Monckton Hall, an army officer, recorded his role in the Egyptian campaign of 1801. He also served under Cornwallis during the Irish rebellion of 1798. The Irish problem appears again in letters written in 1847-1850 by the Earl of Clarendon, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to James Wilson of *The Economist*. Imperial and historical interests are combined in the career of Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler, who, as an expert on Persian affairs, was consulted by Lord Curzon in the 1890s when he wrote about that country. These examples do not exhaust the list of contributions in the Hamilton Collection, but they serve to illustrate its variety and quality.

THE JOHN BACKHOUSE PAPERS

John Backhouse (1784-1845) was the son and grandson of Liverpool merchants. Traces of his family's business are in papers of the eighteenth century and as late as the 1840s when the family was still trying to collect pre-Revolutionary debts in America. Backhouse himself prepared for a business career by working in mercantile houses at Amsterdam and Hamburg during the first decade of the 1800s. After this training he returned to Liverpool where the mercantile associations selected him as their first agent in London, 1812-1823. Unfortunately, references to the associations are not extensive. Most of the correspondence is from friends and associates in the trading firms on the continent.

One of these friends was Jacques Augustin Galiffe, an historian and genealogist of Geneva whose 128 letters date from 1805 to 1842. He frequently wrote about his literary projects, and drafts of essays and parts of books accompanied some of his letters. Backhouse was his intermediary with John Murray who published his *Italy and Its Inhabitants, An Account of a Tour in That Country in 1816 and 1817* (London, 1820). The correspondence from Italy is memorable for the observations upon cultural life, especially opera and the theater. Galiffe's opinions and involvement in the affairs of the notorious Queen Caroline are revealed. As a friend of Lord Brougham and his brother, he helped settle her estate.

The most significant part of the collection derives from Backhouse's association and friendship with George Canning from 1812 to 1827. Canning was a member of the House of Commons from Liverpool, 1812-1822; president of the Board of Control for India, 1816-1821; nominee for Governor General of India in 1822; secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1822-1827; and prime minister, 1827. His personal, political, and administrative affairs dominate this part of the papers, because Backhouse kept numerous letters written by Canning as well as their replies. Among them is an unpublished letter of Sir Walter Scott in 1818. The correspondence is neither a continuous nor a complete record of Canning's activities, but it does document episodes of his career such as his relationship with Backhouse, the authorship of a pamphlet published against Canning in 1818, his appointment and resignation as Governor General of India, the extent of his

patronage in that office and at the Board of Control, problems with his son, William Pitt Canning, and other matters. Backhouse's commentary upon the formation of the cabinet in 1827 is quite detailed and is the best political material in the collection.

Canning was the paramount influence upon Backhouse's career which included service as: his private secretary, 1816-1822; clerk at the Board of Control and acting under secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1822-1823; commissioner of the excise, 1823-1827; receiver general of the excise and under secretary of state for foreign affairs, 1827-1842.

The operations and personnel of the Excise Office in Britain and Ireland appear in correspondence of the mid-1820s and later, especially that of Charles Trefusis (later Lord Clinton). He and Backhouse made an official trip to Ireland, and there is a memorandum describing their nighttime visit incognito into a camp of illicit distillers and smugglers on the Inishowen Peninsula.

It is regrettable that Backhouse's papers do not reveal considerable information about diplomacy or his work at the Foreign Office, but they are essentially family papers into which public affairs occasionally intrude. Family correspondence is dominant after the 1820s, but there are numerous references to the Foreign Office and occasionally to relations with particular countries, notably Circassia, France, Greece, Russia, Turkey, and the United States. Backhouse retained some official correspondence and memoranda but not in the same quantity as Canning's papers. This material is supplemented by the letters of Backhouse's sons. George Canning Backhouse (d. 1855) was commissary judge at Havana, 1852-1855, for cases involving the suppression of the slave trade. John Backhouse (d. 1862) went to China in 1843 as chief clerk in the new consulate at Canton, and he was vice consul at Amoy from 1847 until the mid-1850s. Letters from Canton and Amoy are numerous.

Backhouse retired from public life in 1842 because of ill health that prompted summer trips to the baths at Wildbad, Germany, during 1837-1843. There are many letters from Wildbad. He died at London on November 13, 1845.

A few years before his death he began disposing of his art collection that included works attributed to Raphael, Rubens,

Poussin, Van Eyck, Murillo, Teniers, Titian, Canaletto, Gainsborough, and others who are named in lists and printed auction catalogues of 1842 and 1844. Family portraits were executed by John Jackson, James Lonsdale, Frank Howard, and Sir Godfrey Kneller. They are noted in inventories of 1913, which also list the furnishings of every room in one of the family residences at the time when the property was divided after the death of Backhouse's last surviving child, Catherine Margaret. Photographs illustrate some of the items. Sir Francis Chantrey, the sculptor, and his work are represented by letters, references, and a caricature etching by John Jackson. The pictures include drawings and silhouettes. Handsome engraved stationery depicts scenes in England and abroad.

This cultural aspect of the collection is enhanced by manuscripts of literary interest. There are one or more letters from: Allan Cunningham, Thomas Frognall Dibdin, James Baillie Fraser, John Hookham Frere, William Gifford, Lewis Goldsmith, John Gibson Lockhart, Mary Russell Mitford, William Mudford, John Murray, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, Jane Porter, Sir Walter Scott, and John Taylor (d. 1832). Notable references include those for Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Robert Burns, Lord Byron, Leigh Hunt, William Jerdan, John Moore (1729-1802), John Murray, and Madame de Staël.

Among the items relating to music are programs for concerts at Buckingham and Kensington palaces by celebrated opera singers, 1835-1842, and one from a performance of Jenny Lind in 1848. Galiffe reviewed Italian opera in 1816-1817 and reported upon various singers, including Isabella Colbran, who later married Rossini.

Galiffe likewise contributed to information about education, for his son attended Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg's renowned school in Switzerland in the 1820s. There are student letters from George Canning Backhouse at Christ Church, Oxford, 1837-1838, and from John S. Backhouse at Keble College, 1873-1877. The latter was also a pupil at Sir Frederick Ouseley's school, St. Michael's College, Tenbury, during 1863-1867. A special curiosity is the 1818 lists of books suitable for the library of a young clergyman that were compiled by William Howley, Bishop of London and later Archbishop of Canterbury. One of Backhouse's brothers, Thomas Henry, was an Anglican priest. Another brother, Ben-

jamin, served with the 23rd Fusiliers in Spain and wrote from there during 1812-1813.

Family friends included various persons of stature who appear in the collection, often with their relatives: Sir John William Hamilton Anson, Second Baronet; Sir George Back, admiral and Arctic navigator; William James Early Bennett, ritualist divine; Charles John Canning, Earl Canning; Sir Francis Chantrey; Sir Howard Douglas, general and colonial administrator; General Sir Robert William Gardiner; Hamilton Charles James Hamilton, diplomat; James Hewitt, Viscount Lifford; the Reverend Robert Liddell, who succeeded Bennett at St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge, London; Sir Edmund Lyons, admiral and diplomat; General Francis Slater Rebow; Admiral Sir Houston Stewart; and Spyridón Trikoups, Greek diplomat.

A considerable number and variety of pamphlets, broadsides, leaflets, and newspapers are among the papers. They include several speeches by George Canning and items about the controversial Queen Caroline and the coronations and funerals of George III, George IV, William IV, and Victoria.

The acquisition of this collection is the result of one of the many research trips that Professor Hamilton's graduate students have made to England. Charles R. Middleton discovered the papers when he was there doing research upon the Foreign Office. They are now catalogued and available for public use for the first time.

Planning the Perkins Library

William Davies

PLANNING THE NEW WILLIAM R. PERKINS LIBRARY at Duke began in the office of Dr. Benjamin E. Powell. In May 1961 he produced, with his staff, a comprehensive program of requirements, some thirteen pages in length, which described not only the functions and areas of the various elements of the new General Library but also the preferred relationships among the service, technical, and public areas.

In July 1961 through an exchange of letters between William G. Perry and G. C. Henricksen of Duke University, the firm of Perry, Dean, and Stewart was commissioned to prepare preliminary plans for the new General Library. In October 1961 the architects were authorized to proceed with this "Stage I" design. Also in October and in November they made a series of visits to Duke to confer with Dr. Powell and his staff, to examine the present Library, to study its adaptability as an Undergraduate Library facility, and to get the "feel" of the surrounding environment. The architects also studied plans of the existing buildings, to select those which would be required to implement the planning operation, and to assemble surveys and other essential technical data.

Briefly, the General Library was to be a Graduate-Research

facility. It was to be an "open stack" plan, meaning that reading and study facilities would be dispersed throughout the stack areas for the use of accredited scholars and researchers. It would have special departments for Manuscripts, Periodicals, and Maps and Documents, and easy access from existing stack areas to the new stack areas. All technical processing of new books and other acquisitions was to be quartered in the new building.

These considerations, with others, led to the conclusions that the new General Library should (1) be built contiguous to the existing Library; (2) be designed on the "Loft" principle, which provides large spaces that can be planned and replanned as desired to provide storage for books or study areas, whichever is the need of the moment; (3) be designed not to dominate or overshadow the existing Library and the other buildings in the Quadrangle, even though it was to be substantially larger in area than the present library building; (4) harmonize completely with the other buildings around it—not only the existing library but also the Divinity School, the Language Arts Building, the Chemistry Building, and others; (5) have an entrance from the main Quadrangle commensurate with its importance.

The overall program at that time—in 1961—called for a new General Library of approximately 140,000 square feet of floor area, with about 43,000 square feet of space in the existing Library to be remodeled for undergraduate facilities. The requirements were such that the logical place for the new building was in the angle formed by the present Library, the Language Building, and the Divinity School. Fortunately, in this area it would be possible to get ample space without having the new building tower over the old, as the ground (then a parking area) was low. Location of the entrance did pose a problem, since the existing buildings presented a solid phalanx of handsome stone along the Quadrangle perimeter, except for a narrow gap between the Chemistry and the Language buildings.

The architects had retained Keyes Metcalf, formerly Director of Widener Library at Harvard, as Library Planning Consultant. They held numerous conferences with him and Dr. Powell, and with members of the Duke University Library staff. In January 1962 the first tentative schematic drawings emerged. The building was sited in the angle, almost where it is now, but closer to the existing buildings. Many questions were as yet unanswered,

among them those of a really suitable entrance, the achievement of flexible contact with the existing stack areas, provision of vertical circulation between floors, and at the same time maintenance of reasonable security.

Some of these problems were resolved in February 1962 at a meeting in Boston with Dr. Powell, Mr. Metcalf, and the architects in attendance. The first conceptual presentation, including rendered elevations of the proposed building, came in March. On the whole, there was great similarity between this first concept and the plans eventually accepted. The building was to rise three stories over the main floor. The main block was to be square and, to cut the apparent height, a continuous terrace was to be around the structure at the main floor level. The exterior was to be done in the traditional "Duke stone," with limestone trim, and the top floor to be embellished with a series of "dormers," breaking out of a roof reminiscent of but not identical with the roofs of adjacent structures. At the first and fourth floors the building was to be outward-looking; at the basement, second, and third, inward-looking.

The main entrance was to be at approximately the same elevation as that of the first floor of the present Library. Entry was through a portion of the old Law Building and a great gallery flanking the Rare Book Room. This gallery opened to the northwest upon a courtyard, two sides of which were formed by the Library, and one side by the present Language Building. The Charging Desk and Reference Desk were just past this main entry, with the Public Catalogues beyond them and the Technical Processing areas at the back. The service entrance was at a lower level in the rear.

Basically, the building was designed around the stacks, which were to occupy much of the total floor area, and the structural module was established to accommodate an even number of "ranges" between column faces, without waste of space or odd-sized ranges. The decision was made to incorporate special departmental reading areas or rooms on the various floors, and to intersperse throughout the building reading rooms and study carrels convenient to the stack areas they would serve. Certain of these were to be larger carrels, so designed as to permit smoking, and big enough for the "spread" required for research. These

could be assigned to graduates or faculty for extended periods and could be locked.

In April 1962 a reappraisal of required stack areas enlarged the building by approximately 20,000 square feet, and necessitated the addition of one full bay northward. In May 1962 Perry, Dean, and Stewart was asked also to incorporate certain additions and alterations to the Divinity School Library, to make this structure function with the new General Library. In July 1962 when a comprehensive presentation of the whole was made to the Building Committee of the Board of Trustees in formal session at Duke University, tentative approval was given.

Then ensued a long wait, during which the University established a new policy regarding new structures planned for the University. Caudill, Rowlett, and Scott of Houston, Texas, was commissioned as coördinating architects for all University planning; and Perry, Dean, and Stewart was asked if it would be willing to associate with the other firm and to reappraise the structure in the light of the newly established policies on design coordination. In October and November 1963 the association was formed between the two groups and the work moved forward again. Meanwhile, a reappraisal of the Library needs at that time, made by the Library Staff, had raised the square-foot area of the new building to over 200,000 square feet with an added 11,600 square feet of remodeled area to be incorporated in the General Library, 42,000 square feet of remodeled space in the Undergraduate Library, and 7,500 square feet of new space in addition to 20,000 square feet of remodeled space in the Divinity Library.

Perry, Dean, and Stewart and Caudill, Rowlett, and Scott, jointly and separately, studied the new program as well as the old and the plans that had evolved from it. In mid-January 1964 a joint meeting was held in Boston between the associated architects and the consultant, Mr. Metcalf.

On January 27, 1964, a team from Caudill, Rowlett, and Scott and a team from Perry, Dean, and Stewart met in Durham and for five days engaged in an intense design effort, known as a "squatter session." Dr. Powell and his staff were available at practically any time and the teams worked late into the night. At the end of the session the new concept was ready for presentation to the University.

Basically, the building was much the same, but it had been pulled away from the walls of the existing buildings, for greater clarity of form. The increased floor area had posed problems, for to show the building now as a square or rectangle would have presented enormous unbroken wall areas to view. The plan was, therefore, given a cruciform shape, with the corners reëntrant, thus exposing smaller wall areas to view and making the building appear less bulky than it was in reality. The entrance was shifted to that previously little-used entrance to the Rare Book Room, and the portico was necessarily enlarged, but it remained unchanged in appearance. The control entry was thus in effect enlarged, and the exhibition gallery connecting the control entry and the Main Library floor was given a series of windows opening on the court formed by the new building and the adjacent old one. The surrounding terrace was retained, and Duke stone was liberally used as visible exterior facing. The second- and third-floor windows were given a strong vertical treatment in limestone, and the fourth floor was topped off with a series of limestone-faced, glazed openings surmounted by angular hoods reminiscent of the "dormers" in the earlier scheme.

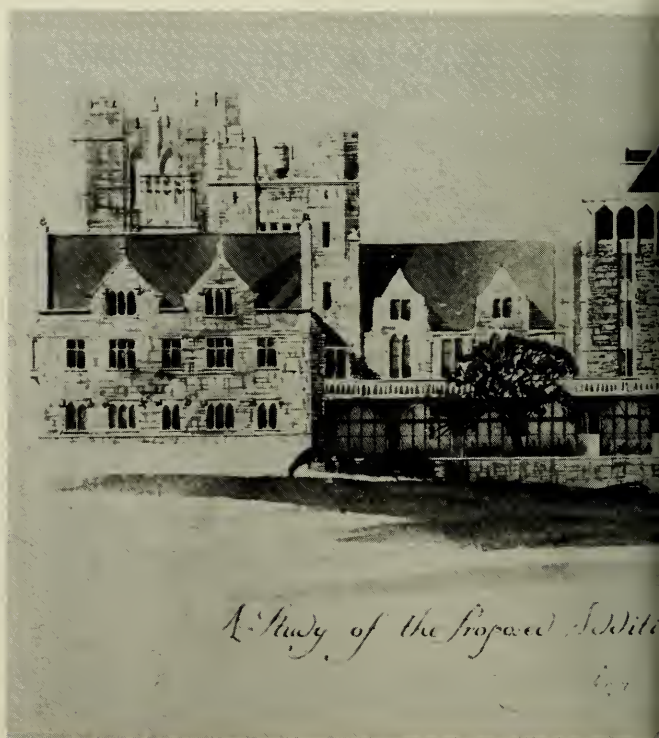
The General Library was connected to the stack areas of the existing building by a glass-walled element containing two elevators and a stair, which will be the principal means of vertical circulation for the students and the public. The increased area required the addition of both a sub-basement and an unobtrusive but essential fourth-floor "pent-house" for the cooling towers, pumps, and fans necessary to the air conditioning of the Library and adjacent buildings.

On January 31, 1964, the presentation was made to the Trustees, who accepted it warmly and authorized the architects to proceed with final drawings. In mid-February Dr. Powell gave his critique—which, understandably, included some new requirements.

Since additional space would be needed for both books and readers, the number of study carrels was to be substantially increased and some special services were to be added. The building had to grow, and since no one wanted it to grow up or out for fear of dwarfing the adjacent structures, it had to go downward. For that reason the Library Building acquired a full sub-basement, which was to be devoted largely to book storage and serious



Elevation 1



Elevation 2



at Duke University Durham North Carolina
 from the collection of the Duke University
 1907



at Duke University Durham North Carolina
 from the collection of the Duke University
 1907

researchers. This increased the building size by some 38,000 square feet and 250,000 volumes of book storage.

On April 15, 1964, a great conference was held in Boston. Representatives of Caudill, Rowlett, and Scott were there as well as Dr. Powell. The building existed as a concept in the minds of the designers, but the pieces had not yet fallen into place. The building was to be of Duke stone, with limestone accents similar in appearance to adjacent buildings; but the right details, the right scale to complement and not dominate the surrounding structures, had not been determined. Many schemes were tried, many discarded; models were built and dismantled. Not until the fall of 1964 was a scheme that had everyone's approval achieved, and the work could proceed. In any case, the interior engineering of the structure and the design of areas not related to the exterior were proceeding, and it looked as if the bids would be invited in the spring of 1965 and construction would start in the early summer.

During this time, plans had proceeded on the assumption that the building would be conventionally heated and cooled from the existing steam distribution system, and plans had been made accordingly. In March 1965 it became the declared policy of Duke University that all new buildings were to utilize all-electric heating and cooling. This change of policy resulted in a completely new concept of the heating and air conditioning, and an entirely different set of mechanical-electrical plans was then begun.

During the months of April and June, conferences in Boston between Dr. Powell and representatives from the two architectural firms contributed toward the development of the equipment layouts and that of the Special Areas. In August 1965 the pieces finally began to fall into place. As much time had been lost, the University Administration decided it would be advisable to begin the foundations for the building, even though the plans were not yet complete. Accordingly, a contract was awarded for the excavation and foundations in September 1965 and work was finally begun, continuing through that winter and into the spring of 1966. By May, building plans were complete, and in July of 1966 bids were invited and a contract was awarded for the construction of the General Library. On August 31, 1966, the order to proceed was given. The new General Library was under way.

The Duke Pliny

Paul Meyvaert

THROUGH THE MUNIFICENCE of Mr. Thomas L. Perkins the Duke University Library, which is named for his father, recently acquired as its two-millionth volume an incunabular edition of Pliny's *Natural History*, printed at Parma in 1476 (number 13091 in the Hain-Coppinger listing). It seems fitting that this volume, which helps to punctuate the size of the Library's present holdings, should itself be a kind of symbol of that serious and earnest scholarship which a university should kindle and foster. It is likewise fitting that this volume should provide a spur to further scholarship by opening up new problems. The following notes make no claim to be an exhaustive study. Their purpose is simply to familiarize the readers of *Library Notes* with the new acquisition, while defining some of its important and problematical aspects.

THE EDITION

The *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny the Elder was first printed at Venice in 1469 by J. de Spira in a small edition of one hundred copies. Demand for the work rapidly increased, and various humanist scholars immediately set about trying to improve the

CAII PLYNII SECVNDI NATVRALIS HISTORIAE LIBER I.

CAIVS PLYNIVS SECVNDVS NOVOCOMENSIS.T.VESPASIANO
SVO SALVTIEM.

IBROS NATVRALIS HISTORIAE NO-

uitum camoenis quiritum tuorum opus natum
apud me proxima fortuna licentiore epistola nar-
rare constitui tibi iucundissime imperator. Sit. n.
hæc tui præfatio uerissima: dū maxio cōsēfuit
in patre. Nāq; tu solebas Meas esse aliqd putare
Nugas: ut obicere molar Carullum cōteraneū
meum. Agnoscis & hoc castrense uerbum. Ille enī
ut scis: permutatis prioribus syllabis duriusculū
se fecit: q̄ uolebat existimari a uernaculis tuis: &
famulis. Simul ut hac mea petulātia fiat: quod
proxime nō fieri questus es i alta procaci episto-

la nostra: ut in quædam acta exeat. Sciantq; omnes: q̄ ex æquo tecum uiuat ipsum.
Triumphale & censorium ius exæfque cōsul ac tribunicie potestatis particeps:
Et quod iis nobilius fecisti: dū illud patri pariter & equestri ordini præfatis præ-
fectus prætorii eius: oniaq; hæc reipub. Et nobis qdē qualis in castrēsi cōtuberno?
Nec quicq; mutauit i te fortunæ aplitudo i iis: nisi ut prodesse tantundē posses: ut
uelles. Itaq; cum ceteris in ueneratione tui pateant omnia illa: nobis ad colēdū te
familiaris audacia sola superest. Hanc igitur tibi iputabis: & in nostra culpa tibi
ignosces. Perficui faciem: nec tamen profeci. Quando alia uia occurris ingēs. Et
longius etiam submoues ingenii fascibus. Fulgurat in nullo unq; uerius dicta uis
eloquentiæ tribunitiæ potestatis facidia. Quādo tu ore patris laudes tonas? Quā-
to fratris amas? Quāto in poetica es? O magna forecunditas animi. Quēadmodū
fratrem quoq; imitaretis: excogitasti. Sed hæc qs posset intrepidus æstimare: subi-
turus ingenii tui iudiciū: præfertim laceffitum. Neque enim similis est cōditio
publicantium: & nominatum tibi dicantium. Tum possem dicere: quid ista legis i-
perator? Humili uulgo scripta sunt: agricolarum opificum turbæ: deniq; studiorū
ociosis. Quid te iudicem facis? cum hanc operam condicerem: nō eras in hoc alt'o.
Maiorem te sciebam: q̄ ut descensurum huc putarem. Præterea est quædā publica
etiam eruditorum reiectio. Vritur illa & M. Tullius extra omnem ingenii aleam
positus. Et quod miremur: p̄ aduocatū defēditur. Hæc doctissimū omnīū Persium
legere nolo. Lælium Decimum uolo. Quod si hoc Lucillius q̄ primus cōdidit stili-
nasum: dicēdum sibi putauit. Si Cicero mutuandū: præfertim cū de repub. scribe-
ret: quanto nos causatius ab aliquo iudice defēdimur? Sed hæc ego mihi nunc pa-
trocinia ademi nūcupatione. Quāplurimū refert: sortiat' aliquis iudicē an eligat.
Multumque apparatus intereat apud inuitatum hospitem & oblatum. Cum apud
Catonem illum ambitus hostem: & repulsis tanquam honoribus ineptis gaudēt:
flagrātibus comitis pecunias deponerēt cādidari hoc se facere: pro inocētia: quod
in rebus humanis sūmū esset: p̄fitebāt'. Inde illa nobilis. M. Ciceronis suspensio.
O te felicem. M. Porti a quo rem improba petere nemo audet. Cum tribunos ap-
pellaret. L. Scipio Asiaticus: iter quos erat Gracchus: hoc attestabat' uel inimico tu
dice se p̄bati posse. Adeo summū quisq; causæ suæ iudicem facit: quēcūq; eligit.
Vnde prouocatio appellat'. Te quidem in excelsissimo humani generis fastigio po-
situm summa eloquentia summa eruditione præditū religiose adiri etiā a salutā-
tibus scio. Et ideo immensa præter ceteras subit cura ut quæ tibi dicātur cōdigna

quality of the text. Giovanni Andrea Bussi, bishop of Aleria (1417-1475), prepared an edition with the help of the Greek humanist Theodore Gaza (c. 1400-1475) and dedicated it to Pope Paul II. It was printed in Rome in 1470 by Sweynheym and Pannartz, the two Germans who had first introduced printing into Italy. Another humanist, Nicollo Perotti (1430-1480), also prepared a text of Pliny which was likewise printed in Rome in 1473. Meanwhile, in 1472, the Venetian printer Nicolas Jenson issued a pirated version of the Roman edition of Giovanni Bussi. Another scholar, the Bolognese Filippo Beroaldo the Elder (1453-1505)—to whom we owe numerous commentaries on the classics—set about preparing his own edition of Pliny. He completed the work during a stay at Parma in 1475, and it was printed there in 1476. (The Duke Pliny belongs to this edition.) The same year also saw the publication at Venice of the first Italian translation of the *History*, made by the Florentine humanist, Cristoforo Landino (1424-1504).

The year of the Parma edition is provided by the colophon, which terminates the last Book of the *History*. It reads “Caii Plynii Secundi Naturalis Historiae Libri Tricesimi et Ultimi Finis. Impressi Parmae Ductu et Impensis mei Stephani Coralli Lugdunensis. Regnante Invictissimo Principe Galeaceo Maria Mediolani Duce Quinto.” The reference at the end to Galeazzo Maria Sforza—Parma was at the time under Sforza domination—shows that the colophon must antedate the 26th December 1476, since Galeazzo was assassinated on that date. The printer, Stephanus Corallus of Lyons, was active in Parma from 1473 to 1479, after which year he moved to Mantua. The Pliny which he produced is an impressive folio volume, consisting of 358 (unnumbered) leaves.

The colophon just mentioned is followed by a long letter—occupying three leaves—of Filippo Beroaldo to Niccolo Ravacaldo, a canon of Parma. In this letter Beroaldo explains some of the problems he met in trying to emend Pliny’s text. He states that he made over six hundred corrections in all, based partly on a study of Pliny manuscripts and partly on a study of the works of other classical authors. Beroaldo, feeling it would take up too much space to provide a full justification for all the corrections he had made, selected fourteen by way of example, and he discussed these in detail in his letter to Ravacaldo.

One has only to place the Venice edition of 1472 (mentioned above) and the Parma edition of 1476 side by side to perceive that the latter was copied from the former. Beroaldo must have provided the Parma printer with a copy of the 1472 Venice edition into which he had inserted marginal or interlinear corrections in his own hand. Corallus then proceeded to set up his own edition, making it correspond page by page to the 1472 edition. The typeface he used is somewhat less impressive than the majestic type of Jenson, but otherwise the two editions correspond both in layout and in size. For this reason it would need no more than a careful comparison of the two editions to recover most if not all of Beroaldo's six hundred corrections. Beroaldo likewise retained all the introductory material which preceded Pliny's text in the Venice edition; this includes two letters of Pliny the Younger (III.4 and VI.16 of the Teubner edition), and three quotations from Suetonius, Tertullian, and Eusebius of Caesarea respectively. Instead of the letter of Giovanni Bussi, which follows the colophon in the Venice edition, Beroaldo substituted his own letter to Ravacaldo.

The Parma edition of 1476 was in turn pirated a few years later. The Treviso humanist, Girolamo Bologni (1454-1517), used it to prepare his own text of Pliny, and the Treviso printer, Manzolino, set up his edition—which appeared in 1479—to correspond once again page by page to the Parma version.

THE DECORATION

The second half of the fifteenth century was the period that saw the transition from the manuscript book to the printed book. Even after the invention of printing the demand for manuscripts, and particularly for illuminated manuscripts, continued. However, since it was less costly to print a work than to transcribe it, and since not everyone could afford to pay for a scribe working full time, a compromise solution was found to satisfy those who wished to find some embellishments in the books they possessed. The printer left wide margins and omitted the initial letter at the beginning of books and chapters, so that an artist could paint in an illuminated border and insert colored initials. This explains why many incunabula of the period, particularly those produced in Italy in the 1460s and 1470s, contain illuminated pages and initials. Not all of these were executed with care and skill,

but here and there one encounters works of high quality, which were evidently intended to satisfy a demanding patron. The Duke Pliny belongs in this latter class. Its decorations are of particular interest, since they display the same two styles, very different from each other, which we find in the illuminated manuscripts of the same period in Italy.

On leaf three, which contains the beginning of Pliny's preface to his *History*, there is an elaborate border framing the whole page together with an illuminated square containing the first letter (L) of the preface. The border consists of four rectangular panels. The bottom panel extends the whole width of the page; its background is gold; in its center is a green garland, supported by four putti, containing a coat of arms. On either side of the garland, amid a wealth of intertwined acanthus, two sylvan scenes are inset; in the one on the left a stag rests in a field; in the one on the right a stag is drinking at a stream. The narrow panel which forms the left hand margin contains an interlaced pattern of blue, green, and scarlet on a black background, with urns, cornucopiae, fruit, and birds interspersed. These also appear in the panel forming the right outer margin, which includes vine tracery and gem clusters, all on a red background. In the center of this panel is a small portrait; it shows a figure seated at a desk, robed and hooded in red and wearing a laurel crown. It probably represents Petrarch or Dante (or possibly Pliny, in the garb of a Renaissance scholar). The top panel contains a symmetrical floral design in red, blue, and yellow, with the white of the page as background. In its center is a small gold circle, probably intended for a crest, in which at a later date a name was inserted (see next section). The square containing the initial "L" is decorated in the same style as the rest of the page and is evidently the work of the same artist who painted the border panels.

The style of the thirty-six illuminated initials which occur throughout the remainder of the volume, at the beginning of each Book, contrasts with the style of the border page. They are all executed in what is termed "white foliated scroll work" (*bianchi girari*) on a background of blue, green, and red. In addition to these large initials there are smaller ones at the beginning of each chapter, in alternating colors of red and blue. The large initials are in gold leaf. All these illuminations are clearly the work

of a single artist. A careful comparison of the letters (there are four A's, six M's, etc.) shows that he did not use a pattern but varied his composition in each case; all these decorations are of high quality and reflect the expertise of a skilled craftsman.

It is still too early to identify the artists or the particular *bottega* where the Duke Pliny was illuminated. It is clear, however, that its decorations were supplied by an atelier capable of the finest sort of book decoration. I have found striking resemblances between the large initials of the Duke Pliny and the illuminations of some noted Italian manuscripts of the period; one, now in Budapest, was taken there by an Italian princess at the time of her marriage to the king of Hungary in 1476; another, now in the Vatican, contains the privileges of Montefeltro and comes from the library of the counts of that Renaissance town. These are, of course, deluxe manuscripts, and not products of the printing press; but it is known that ateliers specializing in book illumination in this period worked on both sorts of books, using, where appropriate, the same styles and techniques of decoration. The initial style represented in the Duke Pliny and in the courtly manuscripts just cited was widespread in Italy at the time; but some examples are finer than others, and the high quality of the foliated scrollwork in the Duke Pliny suggests that a comparison of our Pliny with other books of its time (both printed and handwritten) will prove a worthwhile venture.

THE OWNERS

The Duke Pliny has taken a wandering course since the day when it first came off the press of Corallus in Parma in 1476. Although it may never prove possible to trace a complete history of its travels, something can be said about a few of the hands through which it passed. The volume was acquired for the Duke Library from the New York antiquarian book dealer, Mr. Bernard Rosenthal. Before reaching New York it had belonged to the *Libreria Antiquaria* of Hoepli of Milan. The book still bears the Hoepli bookplate and was listed in the Hoepli Deluxe Catalogue of 1954 as number 110. We do not know through what channel it reached Hoepli. At some previous time it seems to have had an English home, for the book was rebound in red morocco in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century and its gold tooling is of English workmanship. To this evidence must probably also

be linked the signature found on the first leaf, in a hand of the same period, which reads "Lt. Lee," and the fly leaves added at either end which apparently bear the watermark of an English paper mill.

At an earlier date the volume had remained for over a century in the possession of an Italian family named Palladio degli Olivi. Two signatures bear witness to this fact; one is found in the small circle which stands in the center of the upper panel of border illumination on leaf three, reading "Ioannis Franciscus Palladii" (to which the words "de Olivis i. v. d.." were later added). There is in Venice a manuscript which contains among other things a collection of poems by a certain Johannis Franciscus Palladius Olivus Veronensis, dated 1559. This would agree, from the point of view of date, with the signature in the small circle, since it is inscribed in a sixteenth-century hand. The other signature occurs on the first leaf and reads "Lucretii Palladii de Olivis 1670." I have not been able, so far, to discover other instances of this name; but two other members of the same family, Giovanni Francesco and Arrigo Palladio degli Olivi, wrote histories of Friuli and its province at this period (published at Udine in 1659 and 1660). These early owners of the Duke Pliny were apparently a learned and literary clan.

The original owner, for whom the book was made, is almost certainly identified by the cost of arms prominently displayed in the bottom panel of the illuminated border page. Unfortunately, at some later time, an attempt was made to obliterate these arms by painting over them, probably with another coat of arms. More recent efforts to recover the original arms have left the details somewhat blurred. It is still possible, however, to discern a castle with a single tall tower on an azure ground; the castle stands on a green field; on the castle ramparts, on either side of the tower, there appear to be two lions rampant, facing each other and supporting the tower. The castle and lions may originally have been painted in silver. I have not yet been able to identify this coat of arms, but a search is underway, and we expect to have a positive judgment, based on expert knowledge, at an early date. (See future issues of *Library Notes*!)

THE INDEX

A singular feature of the Duke Pliny, and one which originally excited our interest in this volume, is the voluminous handwritten index supplied at the end by one of its earliest owners. It occupies twenty-seven leaves of the same size as those of the book, with four main columns to each page, and a rough count suggests it contains more than 30,000 entries. We can witness the elaboration of the work, as the columns become more and more crowded with additions made in ever smaller script. The entries spill over into the margins, thus forming small additional columns on several of the pages. The final appearance of these pages is anything but neat and legible. There is evidence, moreover, that when the index was completed it was transcribed elsewhere, perhaps for the sake of clarity and neatness, during which process all the columns were crossed out.

The dates during which this gigantic task was accomplished are given to us, by the hand responsible for the index, on the first and last page. They are "13 October 1479" and "8 March 1480." Thus it was the work of a long winter. Unfortunately the lower margin of the last page, on which the final date occurs, has been damaged through wear and dampness, for traces remain of some additional words which may have given the place where the work was accomplished. This could have provided a valuable clue towards authorship. What remains clear is that the scholar who made the index had a major interest in Pliny's *History*; and he may well have been preparing a work, including or using this index, for publication. I have searched through many early editions of Pliny without finding, so far, an edition with an index that would seem to be based on the index of our Pliny.

As far as we know, the first full index of Pliny to be printed was that of Iohannes Camers (1468-1546), which appeared in 1514. It held the day for a long time and was repeated in numerous editions of the *Historia Naturalis* until the French Jesuit scholar Jean Hardouin published in 1685, a new index which superseded the earlier one. The index in our Pliny is earlier still, and if printed would certainly have seen the light before the end of the fifteenth century. As we have seen, interest in Pliny's *History* was then at a height, prompted by its first appearance in print. A number of learned studies and commentaries on Pliny



AXIMVM HINC OPVS NATVRÆ
ordiemur: & ceteros suos homini narrabimus:
faterique cogemus ignota esse per quæ uiuunt. Nemo
id paruū ac modicū existuerit noīnū uilitate
deceptus. Pax secū i his aut bellū naturæ dicef:
odia amicitieque reges furduri ac sensu carentium.
Et quo magis miremur: omnia ea hominum
causā: quod grati simpatian appellauere: quibus
cuncta constante: ignes aquas resinguentibus: aquā
sole deuantante: luna parientē. Altero alterius in
iuria deficiente sydere. Atque ut a sublimioribus
recedamus: ferrū ad se trahēte magnetē lapide:
māre opū gaudium infragilem omnia cetera uitae &
quæque alia in suis dicemus locis paria: uel maiora
la salutariū ordiemur. Primūque ab hortēsis.

DE Cucumere siluestri & elaterio. Capitulum.i.

Cucumim siluestrem esse diximus multo infra magnitudinem sativi. Ex eo fit medicamentū quod vocatur elateriū succo expresso e semine. cuius causa nisi prius incidatur, semen exilit oculorum etiā periculo. Seruatur autem decerptus nocte. Postero die inciditur harundine. Semen quoque cinere conspergitur ad solē succi abundantia: qui expressus suscipitur aq̄ celesti: atq; subsidet. Deinde fole cogit in pastillos: ad magnos mortalium usus. Obscuritates & uitia oculorū nat: genarumq; ulcera. Tradunt hoc succo tactis radicibus uitū non attingi uuas aubus. Radix autem ex aceto cocta podagris illinunt. Succoq; dentium dolori edetur. Arida cum resina impetiginē & scabiem quā psorā & lichenas uocat. caroides & paños sanat. Et cicatricibus colorem reddit. Et foliorum succus aumbꝝ ardis cum aceto insullatur. Elaterium tempestiuum est autumno. Nec ullum ex edicamētis lōgiore tēpo durat. Incipit a trimatu. Si q; recentiore uti uelis: pastillos nouo fctili igne lento in aceto domet. Idq; melius quo uetustius erit. Quem iam centis annis seruatum esse auctor est Theophrastus. Et usq; ad quinquagesimū cernarum lumina extinguit. Hoc enim ueri experimentum est: si ad mortū priusq̄ attingat: scintillare sursum ac deorsum cogat. Pallidum ac leue herbaceo ac scabro melius ac leniter amarū. Putat cōceptus ad alligato semine adiuuari: si terram nō tingerit. Partus uero si in arietis lana alligatum inscietis lūbis fuerit: ita ut prius ex ematur: & rapiatur extra domum ipsam. Cucumim q; magnificat: nasci præcipuum in arabia: mox tyrenis. Alii in arcadia tradunt simile heliotropio: cuius iter uia & ramos prouenire magnitudine nucis iuglandis semē. Esse autem ad speciem scorpionis cauda reflexa: sed cādida. Aliqui etiam ab eo scorpionū cucumim uocat. Tūcissimū cōtra scorpionū ictus: & semine & elaterio. Et ad purgandum uterum. Tūcissimū. Modus portioē uiriū ad dimidio obolo ad solitum. Copiosius necat. Sic & contra phthiriasin bibitur. Et hydropisus illinunt. Anginas & arterias cum melle & oleo uetere sanat.

DE Anguino cucumere: siue erratico: & de fatiuo: & de pepone. Ca.ii.

Uti hunc esse apud nos qui angustus uocatur: ab aliis erraticus: arbitrar. Quo decocto sparsa mures de eius medicina non attingunt. Idem podagris cum cucululo morbis decoctū i aceto illinūt presentaneo remedio. Lumbos: uero dolori ueneri sole fisco: dein trito. xxx. denarios: pōdere in hemina dato aque. Sanat & tumores subitos illitum cum lacte mulie. Purgat eas elateriū. Sed grauidis abortū facit. Suppuriosis prodest. Morbo uero regio in nares coniectum. I eīngines & maculae & facie tollit in sole illitum. Multa eadem omnia satius attriunt. Magnū etiā

[illegible]

1. *Salix purpurea* L.

Sympathia i compatibilitas

Admission copy at a also times again a lot
 Allmy iniquity

at the medicine

Impetigo mollari quibusque in Schenckia
Pom. Scabris atq. hujus etiam
L. schenckii in quibusdam a. schenckii
diff. var. typica ac in a. schenckii
in quibusdam a. schenckii in quibusdam a. schenckii
in quibusdam a. schenckii in quibusdam a. schenckii

Along with
the
admission of

[illegible]

produced at that time remain unpublished in Italian libraries. It is by no means unlikely that one of these works, as yet unexamined by any modern scholar, will eventually reveal not only the identity of the fifteenth-century humanist who indexed our Pliny but also the larger purpose the index was meant to serve.

THE MARGINAL "SCHOLIA"

Another notable feature of the Duke Pliny, increasing, like the index, its desirability and importance for us, is the wealth of manuscript notes appearing on the broad upper, outer, and lower margins of the pages of text. Hardly a page does not have some marginal comment, and in places the pages are so loaded that no blank space remains. A very few of these notes (seven in all) belong to the sixteenth century and are entered by the hand of the "Iohannis Franciscus Palladius" whose signature, as we saw, occurs on the first leaf. The remainder come from the late fifteenth century and were probably inserted not long after the work was issued. A full paleographical study would be needed to determine how many hands were at work. Two main hands seem discernible, although one clearly predominates and seems identical with the hand responsible for the index. A variety of colored inks were used (black, various shades of brown, green, mauve), and some of the colors have faded to the point where a photographic process would be needed to recover them.

The marginal notations are of two varieties, both bearing vivid witness to what we already know about the scholarly preoccupations of the humanists of the period in dealing with classical texts. They aim at elucidating the language and providing a learned commentary through quotations from other classical writers. The notes concerning Latinity make frequent reference to Greek usage and show the complete mastery of Greek, still unusual at this time, which the author enjoyed.

The array of classical citations which is brought to bear on Pliny's text is an impressive one. On a single page we may find mention of Claudian, Virgil, Solinus, Plutarch, Aulus Gellius; on another Quintillian, Columella, Cicero, Martial, and Macrobius. Citations from Holy Scripture or from Christian writers are more rare, but do occur here and there. Thus we find mention of Ambrose, Augustine, Boethius, Eusebius of Caesarea, Isidore, and Jerome. But it is the classical allusions, both Greek and Latin,

which predominate. The Greek authors are usually cited in the original with a Latin translation often added alongside. Among the Greek classical names encountered are Appian, Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, Diogenes Laertius, Dioscorides, Herodotus, Hesiod, Homer, Plutarch, Ptolemy, Strabo, and Theophrastus. The Latin list is a longer one: it includes Caesar, Cato, Cicero, Claudian, Columella, Cornelius Celsus, Frontinus, Aulus Gellius, Gallus the poet, Juvenal, Justinus, Horace, Livy, Gaius Lucilius, Lucan, Macrobius, Martial, Pomponius Mela, Nigidius, Ovid, Palladius, Persius, Festus Pompeius, Priscian, Quintilian, Seneca, Servius, Solinus, Suetonius, Tibullus, Valerius Cato, Valerius Maximus, Vegetius, Vibius, Vitruvius. A more detailed analysis would show what particular works of each author were used, and whether the quotations were made from first or second hand.

A series of notes is scattered throughout the volume, each headed by the abbreviation "Cal." The contents of these notes make it clear that we are dealing, not with a classical citation, but rather with the comment of some humanist scholar whose name is no doubt suggested by these letters. The list of humanists of the period whose names begin with "Cal" (like Andronicus Callistus) is not long and would be well worth exploring; it would lead us into the circle of scholars frequented by our book's annotator.

In addition to these, a few notes that are more personal in tone are scattered here and there. Thus, in a comment on the passage in which Pliny speaks about birds that talk, we read: "In the days of our parents, Thomas, patriarch of Grado [near Aquileia], offered a starling which he had trained to the Pontiff Gregory [Gregory XII]; it could recite in one single 'go' the entire salutation of the Virgin. I heard this from those who witnessed the thing." Elsewhere, when Pliny is speaking about methods of capturing birds, we find another note:

Today we also see this. They use a device through which a small stone is blown by the human breath, and it can kill a bird. It is commonly called a Zambetana. And human lust has now invented a longer blowpipe so that some can quietly, at night and without making any noise, call their ladyloves to their windows. You buy them for this purpose and they can serve no other.

(With this note we find ourselves in the world of Boccaccio!) Another note shows that the author had visited Fossombrone in Umbria, for he copies down part of an antique inscription which he saw there in the church of St. George. This interest in classical epigraphy is characteristic of the humanists of this age.

In the above notes I have tried to point out some of the aspects of the Duke Pliny that make it a fascinating book. It is full of problems for the scholar, but for each problem there is evidence enough to promise a solution that will open up for us new avenues of approach into the multifaceted and lively milieu that produced it. Our most urgent task for the present is the identification of its early owners, particularly the humanist scholar who added its index and many of its marginal notations. He was certainly a substantial figure in the scholarly world of his time, and his name, once known, will join Duke's as part of the designation of the volume. Poliziano's Pliny has been identified, and is now in the Bodleian Library, and so has Erasmus's copy, which was sold at auction early in this century. Both are incunabula editions (of 1473 and 1496 respectively), copiously annotated, like ours, by their scholarly owners.

Although he has not given us his name, this unknown scholar has left the imprint of his interests and personality generously scattered through the pages of the Duke Pliny. After spending even a short time in his company, one feels oneself carried back into that Renaissance library where our book was once so reverently handled and exhaustively studied. We look over his shoulder as he consults his other books and makes his marginal notations. Once his identity is known to us we shall be able to follow him also to his native town (I would guess that it will turn out to be in northern Italy), and through a career that will surely reflect all the characteristic interests and achievements of one of the liveliest periods of our human past.

The Biology-Forestry Library

Frederick A. Wolf

A MICROSCOPE AND A MUD PUDDLE, non-biologists once maintained, were the only equipment needed by any biologist to enable him to explore plant and animal life and thus to expand the parameters of biological knowledge. In fact, such was the situation, literally, on December 11, 1924, when Duke University was born. At that time the Biology Library contained a total of about 250 volumes. But this meager collection of books was the seed source from which a crop that currently is the Biology-Forestry Library of Duke University was grown. The present purpose, therefore, is to note briefly certain events that followed the planting of this seed and the subsequent development and fruition of a third bit of equipment essential for biological instruction and research.

From the beginning, members of the biology staff were in accord in believing that an adequate or "working" library is the *conditio sine qua non* both for teaching and for research. In their opinion, if library facilities are inadequate, productive scholarship remains impossible, and unless there is productive scholar-

This article is the second in a series on the development of the departmental libraries at Duke.

ship a university remains a university in name only. Many persons have nurtured the growth of the Library during the past forty years, but unfortunately the contributions of each one can neither be given appropriate evaluation nor be mentioned in the brief account that follows.

Expansion of the Biology Library was initiated by the late Dr. A. S. Pearse, whose persistence in promoting plans for academic improvement is legendary. He insisted that biology at Duke University was destined eventually to attain regional, national, and even international prominence but only if adequate library facilities were provided. He enthusiastically directed his efforts toward this goal, beginning in 1927, soon after he was appointed to direct the newly-expanded Department of Biology. Both he and I sought the financial support of the Administration, especially that of Dr. R. L. Flowers, then Treasurer of Duke University. We were assured by Dr. Flowers that funds would be forthcoming for the envisioned library, and that provision would be made annually for the purchase of files of scientific journals and books. Moreover, he set aside for immediate expenditure the sum of \$18,000. Because of stringent financial conditions that existed in Europe as an aftermath of World War I, that amount made it possible at that time, to purchase sets of journals at very reasonable prices. Indeed, certain sets then purchased are presently priced by dealers of antiquarian books at two or three times the amount paid for them nearly forty years ago.

Early in the 1930s Dr. Pearse, who had become involved in other academic problems, assigned to Dr. G. T. Hargitt the task of procuring more zoological journals and books. Up until the time for his retirement Dr. Hargitt applied himself zealously to the task of selecting and procuring needed zoological publications. For several years I continued to select and order botanical materials, and eventually other members of the botany staff were assigned this task.

The subscription list of scientific journals published in many different countries has gradually increased over the years and now is in excess of 900.

That portion of the library dealing with forestry dates from 1938 when the School of Forestry at the graduate level was organized. Dr. C. H. Korstian, in 1931, began the task of placing the Duke Forest under intensive forest management. Next he was

concerned with establishment of an academic forestry curriculum, with recruitment of a forestry staff in the then Department of Forestry, and with accreditation. A primary requirement for accreditation by the Educational Committee of the American Society of Foresters was the provision of adequate library facilities. This requirement was met by the purchase of collections from the School of Forestry, Yale University. Acquisitions made subsequently by Dr. Korstian and by Dr. E. S. Harrar have become a library of 38,107 volumes, so that the forestry portion of the Biology-Forestry Library now ranks among the best of its kind in the United States.

The only significant reprint collection to become the property of the Biology-Forestry Library is that of Dr. L. O. Howard, who for many years directed the entomological work of the United States Department of Agriculture. The growth of our library has also been aided by the establishment, in 1930, of *Ecological Monographs*, now an internationally known biological journal. Duke University generously financed its publication during a long period but, currently, the financial difficulties no longer exist. Dr. Pearse, who promoted the founding of *Ecological Monographs*, became its first editor. Dr. Korstian early was given editorial charge of botanical manuscripts and subsequently the late Dr. H. J. Oosting gave unstintingly of his time to all matters pertaining to the editing of this journal.

Another factor contributing to the development of the Biology-Forestry Library is the Duke Marine Laboratory, at Beaufort, N.C. This facility was founded by Dr. Pearse for purposes of instruction and research with marine organisms. This laboratory opened in 1938 and has now become a base for studies of marine biology by students from various colleges and universities of the United States and also by scientists from foreign countries. A library consisting of 5,779 volumes has been assembled at this laboratory.

In summary, a few of the events herein chronicled have brought about within a forty-year period the expansion of a library containing approximately 250 volumes to the present Biology-Forestry Library containing 108,659 volumes. Of this number 64,773 deal with various aspects of botany and zoology, 38,107 with forestry, and 5,779 with marine life. Additionally the list of subscriptions for scientific journals exceeds 900.

The credo that a microscope and a mud puddle fulfill the sole needs of any biologist becomes a fallacy. A third element, the importance of which transcends these two elements, is availability of a "working" library. Evidence for this claim rests upon the educational status in the fields of biology and forestry attained at Duke University by the staffs of the Departments of Botany, of Zoology, and of the School of Forestry.

Richard Pares' Marginalia in *The Correspondence of George III*

William S. Price, Jr.

AMONG THE HOLDINGS in the Rare Book Room of the William R. Perkins Library is an item of particular interest to students of British history and historiography—a six-volume set of *The Correspondence of King George III from 1760 to December 1783*, edited by Sir John Fortescue (London, 1927-1928). The uniqueness of these volumes rests in the fact that they were once owned and annotated by Richard Pares (1902-1958), outstanding historian of eighteenth-century England, one time Fellow of All Souls and Balliol Colleges, Oxford, and son of Sir Barnard Pares, famous scholar of Russian history.

During 1939, Pares worked very closely with the *Correspondence* (see his notes in volume IV, p. 397), making a number of marginal comments throughout the six volumes. More than sixty percent of the 515 marginalia are corrections to Fortescue's misreading of dates, names, titles, and military ranks. In making corrections, Pares relies heavily on the works of Sir Lewis Namier, perhaps the most important recent scholar of politics under George III. Despite the purely technical nature of most of his comments, Pares has written numerous marginalia which reflect the same lucidity and much of the wit exhibited in his *King George III and the Politicians* (1953).

For example, Lord Carrick reporting on a riot in Ireland in 1766 writes: “. . . the Reasons given that the Risings were owing to the Poverty and Oppression of the People c[oul]d not be true. . . .” Beside this statement Pares has noted: “He is quite determined to make a Popish plot of it.” (volume I, p. 317). Elsewhere in a letter from George III to Lord Hillsborough, the King writes: “. . . I cannot omit expressing the pleasure I feel at the ability with which You have restored the original opinion of the Majority at the Meeting without greatly deviating from the words of the Minute.” Pares comments: “This looks like some hanky-panky at the expense of the cabinet.” (volume II, p. 13).

When the King writes to Lord North in January, 1778, rejecting Benjamin Franklin’s and Silas Deane’s demands for recognition of American independence as a prerequisite to ending the Revolution, he says: “. . . I do not think there is a Man either bold or Mad enough to presume to treat for the Mother Country on such a basis. . . .” In the margin Pares notes: “I don’t think this proves very much—HM [His Majesty] always thought everybody except the insane or the wicked agreed with him.” (volume IV, p. 14).

Yet Pares could be generous in his comments. When the King writes to Lord North in 1779: “. . . should America succeed in that [winning independence] the West Indies must follow them, not [into] independence, but must for its own interest be dependent on North America . . .,” Pares says: “All this, tho’ overdrawn, is the most rational expression of HM’s feelings about America that I have come across yet.” (volume IV, p. 351).

These marginalia, falling as they do after two of Pares’ books on the Empire, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739-1763* (1936) and *Colonial Blockade and Neutral Rights* (1938) are of interest to the student of colonial America as well as to British historians. Pares’ keen mind and broad learning lend clarity and humor to this important collection of documents.

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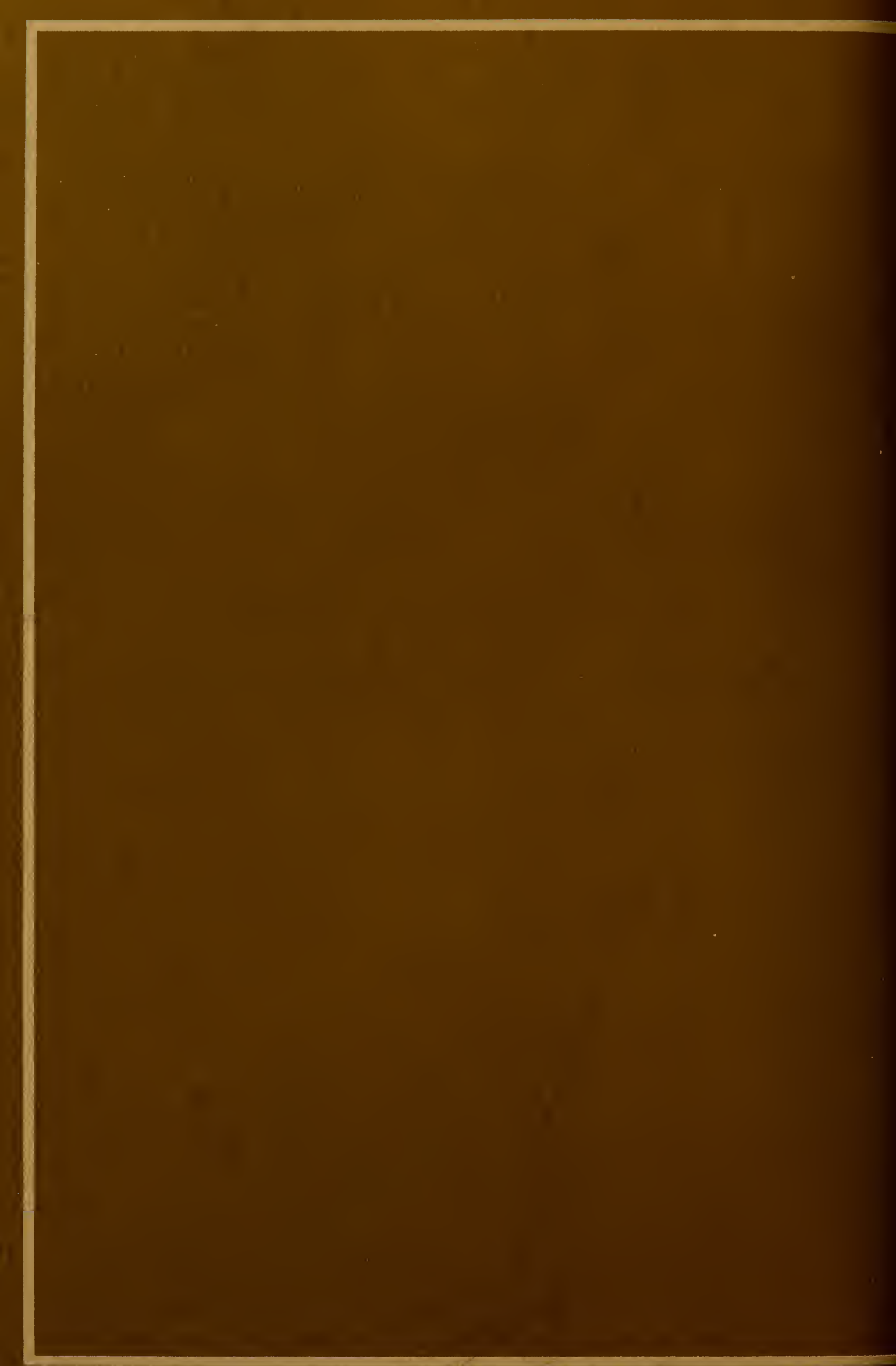
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LIBRARY NOTES



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In Memoriam

William Maxwell Blackburn

William Baskerville Hamilton

Did Mark Twain Write “Impersonally” for the *New York Herald*?

Louis J. Budd

A clear and compact yet difficult test can be posed for Mark Twain's devotees who believe that they can always detect his unique tone or hand.

In late November, 1867, Samuel Langhorne Clemens landed at New York City, ending an excursion to Europe and the Holy Land. He was riding a wave of success that, swelled by his travel letters, carried him to Washington, D. C., to become private secretary to a senator. The *New York Tribune* had been so pleased with its share of his travel letters that he went down to the capital as a *Tribune* “occasional.” During the European excursion he had also sent three unsigned dispatches to the *New York Herald*,¹ which had even scooped the *Tribune* by getting his valedictory letter about it; and the *Herald* wanted to keep him in its columns. On November 25, 1867, he let the managing editor of the *Tribune* know that he was dickering with the *Herald* for some “impersonal” letters from Wash-

¹Dewey Ganzel, “Samuel Clemens, Sub Rosa Correspondent,” *English Language Notes*, 1 (June, 1864), 270-273.

ington.² About the same time, he told his mother and sister that the *Herald* had asked him to write "occasionally" and that he would accept "as soon as I hear from *Tribune* that it will not interfere."³ Perhaps the *Tribune* objected, but in any case he had plenty to do. He had started contributing regularly to the *San Francisco Alta California* and the *Virginia City* (Nevada) *Territorial Enterprise* and doing political sketches for other newspapers as the spirit moved him.

Then on January 24, 1868, he confided to a friend: "I am tired of writing wishy-washy squibs for the *Tribune*, & have joined the *Herald* staff—2 impersonal letters a week. [The editor] says I may have full swing, & say as many mean things as I please There are lots of folks in Washington who need villifying [*sic*]."⁴ On the same day he boasted to his "folks" that he had been asked to contribute "twice a week, impersonally, for the *Herald*" and that, having been assured of the "very fullest possible swing" to write about "anybody and everybody I wanted to," he had made an oral contract; he added, "I'll make it a point to write *one* letter a week, any-how."⁵ This contract took a big step up the ladder for him—a regular series for a New York City newspaper. Therefore, he sounded very positive the next day when he mentioned to a boyhood friend that he was to be well paid for two letters a week to the *Herald* in which he could "abuse & ridicule any body and *every* body I please"; he indicated that he would, as a result, send even fewer pieces to the *Tribune* than he had done so far.⁶ However, he felt energetic as well as, perhaps, cautious. His letter (dated January 30) for the *Territorial Enterprise* announced that he was "on the *Tribune* staff yet, and also on the regular staff of the

²Letter in John Russell Young Papers, Library of Congress. On December 2 he commented that he still had "propositions" from the *Herald*; Dixon Wecter, ed., *Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1948), p. 6.

³Quoted in Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1912), I, 346-347.

⁴*Mark Twain to Mrs. Fairbanks*, pp. 14-15.

⁵Albert Bigelow Paine, ed., *Mark Twain's Letters* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1917), I, 145-146.

⁶Theodore Hornberger, ed., *Mark Twain's Letters to Will Bowen* (Austin: The University of Texas, 1941), p. 16.

New York Herald.”⁷ On January 31 he recorded privately that he had done “seven long newspaper letters & a short magazine article in less than two days.”⁸

This total of seven newspaper letters leaves room for one to the *Herald*—in fact the figure is dismaying for the scholars who are trying to locate all of Mark Twain’s writings for the forthcoming Iowa-California Edition of his work. It also sets his high-water mark for the season. On January 27 he had made a contract for *The Innocents Abroad*; inevitably he started thinking that his time would be better spent on a book for the subscription (door-to-door) trade, and on February 4 he reassured his new-found publisher that he had “cut my newspaper correspondence down a good deal.”⁹ By February 21 he could tell his brother that “I only retain correspondence enough, now, to make a living for myself, and have discarded all else, so that I may have time to spare for the book.”¹⁰ It is therefore possible that he never honored the contract with the *Herald*. Yet, weighing everything, the researcher has good reasons for hoping to discover some unsigned letters in the *Herald*, perhaps echoing passages in the letters he was still sending to the *Territorial Enterprise* or *Chicago Republican* (for which he first wrote on January 31)—indeed several scholars have listed the *Herald* among the outlets for his writing from Washington. On the other hand, it would not be surprising to have any *Herald* letters stop by February 21 or soon after that.

The Perkins Library is a fine place to search for those letters, because it has a bound file of the *Herald* in perfect condition. Actually it is a fine place for looking into his Washington correspondence in general. It has also a crisp file of the *New York Tribune* for those years, with each number stamped THE PRESIDENT, and an excellent collection of Washington newspapers for 1867-68. (The bound volumes of the *National Republican*, *National Intel-*

⁷These *Enterprise* letters, available in a scrapbook in the Yale University collection of Mark Twain materials, have not as yet been reprinted.

⁸Quoted in Bradford A. Booth, “Mark Twain’s Friendship with Emeline Beach,” *American Literature*, XIX (November, 1947), 224.

⁹Hamlin L. Hill, ed., *Mark Twain’s Letters to his Publishers, 1867-1894* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 14-15.

¹⁰Paine, *Mark Twain’s Letters*, I, 150.

ligencer, and *Congressional Globe* have "Executive Mansion" stamped on their spines.) With these newspapers and microfilm of the *Washington Star* as well as the *New York Times* the researcher can recover some first printings of Mark Twain pieces and can go far toward annotating their highly topical references and allusions.

All clues lead to three letters in the *Herald* as being possibly by Clemens. The first was headed "Gossip at the National Capital" and, like the other two, bore the subhead of "Special Correspondence of the Herald"; it was dated February 1 (printed February 3, p. 5); this letter brought the first appearance of this "Gossip" feature or column. The second letter, headed "Washington Gossip," was dated February 8 (printed February 10, p. 8); the third, also headed "Washington Gossip," was dated February 15 (printed February 18, p. 3). No more "Gossip" columns would appear in the *Herald* in the months ahead. All three of these letters are basically political; that is, they make judgments on public men and center on Capitol Hill instead of soirees and fashions, even though Clemens elsewhere got copy out of those too. If not patently his in style, the first letter sounds most like Mark Twain, the second sounds less so and the third even less, though it holds no real negative evidence of either diction or content. And if these letters fall short of "vilifying" anybody, they are severe in opinions and tone.

Several months ago a door-guard at the Perkins Library joked of someone, "If he comes in while he's out, I'll hold him here till he gets back." This sums up the contradictions of the matter. The three unsigned *Herald* letters do not sound all that much like Mark Twain. But he had declared several times that he would be "impersonal," meaning, I think, more than merely that his letters would not bear the pen name he was busily making famous. So the problem is to judge how Mark Twain would write when he was trying not to project his breezy, raucous, and witty persona. He had long had moods of aching to be taken seriously, of achieving something more thoughtful than "wishy-washy squibs"; for the *Herald* he may have repressed his unique verve and idiom too well. Yet his admirers feel that he could hardly ever help, at his writing desk anyway, being

Mark Twain to some degree. Since so many clues point to the three *Herald* letters, those admirers will want to accept the challenge of judging whether they are truly by Mark Twain, or at least Samuel Langhorne Clemens.

A Queen's Confidante: The Papers of Lady Malet and her Family

William Rector Erwin

The collection of British manuscripts has been enriched by the acquisition of more than 1200 letters of the Malets, an old, distinguished family descended from William Malet, a companion of William the Conqueror. In the nineteenth century they were still serving their country with conspicuous success. Sir Charles Warre Malet, First Baronet (d. 1815), was an Indian administrator and diplomat. His eldest son, Sir Alexander Malet, Second Baronet (1800-1886), held diplomatic assignments on the continent, while two of his brothers, George Grenville and Arthur, pursued civil and military careers in India. Sir Edward Baldwin Malet, Fourth Baronet (1837-1908), the son of Sir Alexander, was also a diplomat—one who achieved the distinction of serving as ambassador to Germany for over a decade, 1884-1895.

Sir Alexander Malet gained experience in the embassies at St. Petersburg, Paris, Lisbon, and Turin before acting as secretary of the legation at The Hague, 1836-1843, and at Vienna the following year. He was envoy to Württemberg, 1844-1852, and minister plenipotentiary to the Germanic Confederation at Frankfort from 1852 until his retirement in 1866. While at Frankfort he developed an intimate

friendship with Prince Bismarck, with whom he hunted and traveled. Malet married Mary Anne Dora Spalding.

Mary Anne, Lady Malet, was a woman of distinction, and the two finest series of letters in this collection derive from her friendships with Queen Sophia of the Netherlands and Lord Stanley, later the 15th Earl of Derby. Important family connections came through her mother, an Eden, who was a first cousin of Lord Auckland, the Governor General of India, and also a sister-in-law of Admiral Sir Graham Moore; she married, secondly, Lord Brougham. Lady Malet's novel—*Violet, or, the Danseuse: A Portraiture of Human Passions and Character*—was favorably received when it was published anonymously in 1836.

The duration and intimacy of Lady Malet's friendship with the Queen of the Netherlands are evident from the 916 letters that the Queen wrote between 1842 and 1877. Sophia Frederica Mathilda (1818-1877) was a princess of Württemberg, the daughter of King William I and his wife Catherine, daughter of Czar Paul I of Russia. In 1839 Sophia married the Prince of Orange, who succeeded to the throne of Holland in 1849 as King William III. Two of their three sons survived the Queen; but none outlived the King, who remarried and had a daughter who became Queen Wilhelmina. Neither William III nor his two predecessors allowed their wives any participation in governmental affairs; and Sophia, a woman of intellect and character, sought relief from an unhappy marriage through her family and friends. "My only pretention in this world is to have friends," she wrote.¹ Several of them were persons of historical importance in Western Europe.

The Queen's closest confidante for more than thirty years was Lady Malet, to whom she sometimes wrote such sentiments as: "No one in this world, not my sister herself, knows so much about me as you do . . . there is not in this wide world *one* person I esteem & respect more than you, not one person to whom my whole life has been laid bare as to you . . . you are the only person with whom I can *think*, *sob out* my thoughts . . . the only person with whom I can *think* aloud."² Looking back on thirty years

¹Queen Sophia to Mary Anne, Lady Malet, Dec. 23, 1864, Malet Family Papers.

²*Ibid.*, June 3-6, 1847; March 30, 1849; Sept. 14, 1849; May 2, 1861.

of friendship, she could write: "I love no one as I love *you* & the more the years pass, the more I attach myself to the *one* friend, who remained true & faithful in all the trials of life."³ These expressions of affection and trust are borne out not only by the extent of the correspondence but also by the frankness with which Sophia wrote about persons and events, including even the King and his mistresses.

Sophia was decidedly Anglophile, as her other relationships attest. Lords Stanley, Clarendon, Cowley, and Napier, and their respective wives were close friends and frequent correspondents. All these men had important public careers in diplomacy and administration at home and abroad. The death of Clarendon in 1870 was a blow to her, for they had written weekly;⁴ and by her own admission "in many respects he had taken my dear father's place." The loss made her "a stranger to English politics."⁵ She had often discussed him and had relayed his news—an exceptional example being his explanation of why he had not become foreign secretary in 1859. Her knowledge of British affairs and her conversational talents delighted and astonished Lord Stanley when they first met; he reported that she spoke "of English politics and English public men as very few of our country women could have done."⁶

Other English friends were Lord Llanover, Lady Salisbury (later Lady Derby), Charles Villiers, and Ladies Ely, Westmorland, and William Russell. Even in Holland it was an English woman, Madame de Tuyl (the sister of Lord Sandhurst), of whom Sophia declared: "I had not loved her as I loved you, but she was the *only* person here with whom I could talk & who had a lively interest in all that is going on, free from petty gossip of a small town."⁷ Her Anglophilia shocked a Russian acquaintance: "When I spoke of the superiority of English women to foreigners, she was as astonished as if I had declared they had 12 fingers; because she can *not* go beyond the surface of things."⁸ The Queen was not, however, blind to the defects of her friends; her

³*Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1865.

⁴*Ibid.*, July 8, 1870.

⁵*Ibid.*, Dec. 30, 1871.

⁶Lord Stanley to Lady Malet, Sept. 24, 1850.

⁷Queen Sophia to Lady Malet, Feb. 12, 1869.

⁸*Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1872.

remark, "I remain devoted to my friends, whatever their faults, but I see the faults," is substantiated by many comments in her letters.⁹ This balance enhances the value of her observations.

Queen Sophia's antipathies were as ardent as her Anglophilia. A southern German, she despised Prussians and feared Prussia. She found few Russians to her liking, that prejudice being intensified by enmity with two Russian grand duchesses: her mother-in-law, Queen Anna, a daughter of Czar Paul I; and her sister-in-law, Queen Olga of Württemberg, daughter of Nicholas I. Sophia regarded her subjects in the Netherlands as a somber lot. "The silent gloom of Dutch people quite enervates me," she wrote.¹⁰ In winter, however, "*on the ice . . .* the Dutch get gay and graceful."¹¹ For the French she had scant respect; she thought English ideas more palatable.

The Queen's unfavorable opinion of the French people, however, did not prevent or spoil her strongest attachment to a major ruling family—the Bonapartes. Indeed, Sophia was related to them, for her Aunt Catherine of Württemberg had married Napoleon's brother Jerome. Their son, Prince Napoleon, was a close friend and a correspondent of many years. Of more importance was Sophia's admiration for Napoleon III and her correspondence with him and Empress Eugénie. The Queen's analyses of the Emperor and his wife and her many comments about them are a valuable aspect of this collection. She was often concerned that the English did not recognize that an alliance with Napoleon served their vital interests. Her warning in 1859 proved prophetic:

Things are looking awfully warlike. I put aside all my opinions, my sympathies, but believe me: if Germany attacks France, you will see a strange result. A new Germany, which will come out of it—happen what may—shall be more troublesome to England than the old Germany. It can not be your interest to call it forth.¹²

⁹*Ibid.*, Aug. 20, 1867.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, July 4, 1861.

¹¹*Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1868.

¹²*Ibid.*, May 16, 1859.

In contrast to her relations with the Bonapartes, Sophia was never close to Queen Victoria, of whom she stated: "The Queen is a *little* woman, her virtues, her vices, her loves and her hatred are *little*," and the "only real sterling good quality she has—English all are—is her truth." They never wrote "but on occasions, death, births, marriages."¹³ Victoria's court was a stultifying experience compared with the Tuileries; and Sophia despaired of the impression the former would leave upon her son, the Prince of Orange, for whom she wanted an English marriage. She selected Princess Helena, and Victoria suggested Princess Alice—but the Prince outmaneuvered them all and remained unmarried.

Although the routine at Victoria's court seemed dull, the activities of the courtiers and royal family frequently were not, and Sophia's friends were good sources of the latest news and gossip. After the death of Prince Albert in December, 1861, for example, she received from England numerous letters in which circumstances surrounding the Prince's fatal illness were revealed. Sophia soon confided those events to Lady Malet:

. . . the Queen is unkind to the Prince of Wales & said, *he* is the cause of his father's death, as the Prince caught cold, returning from Cambridge, where he had gone to scold his son . . . The Prince of Wales had taken to a woman at the Camp of Armagh; she followed him to Cambridge, completely got hold of him. Vainly did Gen. Bruce try to shake her off—at last he wrote to Prince Albert, & the Prince came to scold his son. There was a scene, & the son was rather impertinent.¹⁴

The political affairs of England, France, and Germany, and the diplomatic relations of the European powers were principal topics of the correspondence. Family and friends kept Sophia informed about events in London, Paris, and elsewhere. From her neutral sanctuary she witnessed the Crimean War, the Italian War of 1859, the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Among the major events of her reign, only the Revolution of 1848 shook Holland.

¹³*Ibid.*, Aug. 4, 1867.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, March 24, 1862; Dec. 30, 1861.

Occasionally the Queen commented upon Dutch politics but usually not in detail. Exceptions were her letters during the Dutch constitutional crisis of March, 1848, and during the first months after her husband's accession to the throne in 1849. On April 21, 1849, she confided her feelings about the complexities and difficulties of her roles as woman, wife, and queen. Presumably the reason for her reticence about Dutch affairs was not fear of interference with the mail, for she was quite frank about the King's misdeeds. She did believe that her letters were opened, and once Lady Malet found a coin inside that some third person had inadvertently left there.

The value of this correspondence lies not only in the Queen's information and judgments about European affairs but also in her comments and opinions about the myriad people whom she met, knew, or heard about. They included rulers, nobles, diplomats, politicians, military men, and others whose public careers, deeds, or connections made them topics of news and gossip. English, French, German, and Dutch figures are especially prominent, but Austrians, Russians, Italians, and others are also found. Two authors among her acquaintances were the English poet, Caroline Norton, and the American historian, John Lothrop Motley.

Unfortunately the Queen, who had seen "too much misery, quarrels, wretchedness come from letters that were kept & fell in wrong hands," destroyed those from Lady Malet. While dangerously ill in 1849, Sophia took the precaution of seeing Lady Malet's correspondence thrown into the fire. She disposed of subsequent letters in batches or as soon as they were read and answered. "No letter of yours is ever seen," she wrote, "pray burn mine likewise."¹⁵ Happily, Lady Malet did not. Less sensitive correspondence may have survived, for Sophia began keeping Lord Napier's letters since "they are so very curious & interesting—& the persons he mentions do not interest any one here."¹⁶ She had also taken the trouble to arrange the letters from her father, the King of Württemberg.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Feb. 13, 1866.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1867.

Lady Malet carefully preserved her correspondence with Lord Stanley, whose forty-seven letters date between 1850 and 1867. They became aware of each other about 1849 when Stanley visited Lord Brougham's country residence. Personal affinity and interests in history, literature, and public affairs drew them together. Lady Malet spent most of her time on the continent with her husband, and she was eager for the news of society and politics. All this, Stanley supplied in fine style. His observations about the cabinets, the opposition, Parliament, and politicians constitute a commentary upon the administrations of Lord John Russell, the Earl of Derby (Stanley's father), Aberdeen, and Palmerston. The relationship with Stanley flourished for about a decade and then diminished partly because of feelings that, while foreign secretary, he had not done all he could to aid Sir Alexander in his career and retirement.

Stanley's reaction to Napoleon III was a contrast to Queen Sophia's. At first he, like many others, was amused by Bonaparte's exploits, an attitude he had to shed when the Pretender became Emperor of the French. Still, he was not captivated by the man as was Sophia. Stanley, who met him in 1855, "looked carefully into his face, and it confirmed what I always thought—no sign of talent, not even an animated or intelligent expression—only a middling forehead, a dead glassy eye, a moustache, and a mask." "Can it be," he asked, "that, after all, the intellectual power is not remarkable, and that what he has accomplished has been the result of a strong will, with an almost monomaniacal fixity of purpose?"¹⁷

Stanley and Queen Sophia both wrote about the Crimean War in which the Malets' eldest son, Henry, served as a lieutenant in the Grenadier Guards. Malet arrived in the Crimea in May, 1855, and took part in the siege and capture of Sevastopol, being active in the vicinity of the Redan, Mamelon Hill, and the Malakoff Tower. As he was only nineteen when he reached the battleground, he was not privy to the thoughts and decisions of the commanding officers. However, his eighty letters portray the life of a young officer. An amateur artist, Malet made many drawings, maps, and watercolors—an album of them illustrates

¹⁷Lord Stanley to Lady Malet, April 27, 1855.

his letters, and many are found in the letters themselves.

Several other manuscripts also concern the Crimean War. Sidney Herbert was largely responsible for sending Florence Nightingale to nurse the troops. In October, 1854, his wife, Elizabeth, divulged confidential plans to recruit Miss Nightingale. Lord Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary, discussed the controversy with the United States about the enlistment of Americans into the British army. Four letters from Henry Malet's cousin, Capt. John Moore of H. M. S. *Highflyer*, are reports on naval and military operations.

Other cousins, the Edens, had been in India. Frances and Emily Eden lived there with their brother, Lord Auckland, while he was governor general during 1835-1841. Many of their letters and journals have been published. They are supplemented by twelve letters in which Frances Eden described her life in India, including a visit to the Punjab and Ranjit Singh, who brought out the fabled Koh-i-noor diamond for their examination. Miss Eden shared with Stanley the secret of Lady Malet's authorship of *Violet*.

At the same time Dulcibella Eden, Lady Malet's aunt, was maid of honor in Queen Adelaide's household. Her six letters are full of news from the court.

Sir Edward Malet's distinguished diplomatic career is unfortunately represented only by some one hundred personal letters of 1880-1908. The content of the correspondence is insignificant, but the autographs glitter with the signatures of statesmen and royalty. The royal personages include Empress Victoria of Germany, King Leopold II of Belgium, Queen Victoria, George, Duke of Cambridge, and Victoria's sons, the Prince of Wales and Prince Arthur. Several letters from Sir Henry Ponsonby, private secretary to Queen Victoria, and some printed material concern the visit in 1891 of German Emperor William II on the occasion of the marriage of Princess Louise, the Queen's granddaughter.

The Divinity School Library: The Historical Background, Since 1850

Harriet V. Leonard

The story of the development of the religion collection in the Duke University Library is closely related to the history of the University itself as it moved from a rural college giving a few courses to young ministers to the present academic program, which includes undergraduate religion majors, ministerial students, and candidates for the Ph.D. in religion. Today, as for over a century, churches, educational institutions, and service agencies throughout the world are staffed by alumni trained in theology at Duke.

The uneven course of the teaching of religion at Trinity College, later Duke University, and the development of the book collection in that subject area were affected by the same historical factors, namely, the local attitudes toward ministerial training and graduate education; the poverty of the region in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, relieved by gifts from various friends; and that element which is crucial but more difficult to document, the individual insight together with the personal popularity of the presidents and officers of the University.

This is Part I of the third article in a series on the development of departmental and school libraries at Duke.

The plan of this essay is to follow chronologically each administration, beginning with that of Braxton Craven, with special comment upon those conditions which influenced the collecting of books in religion for the Library. A second essay will include a description of the major collections in the Duke Divinity School Library and of related materials in the Rare Book Room of the William R. Perkins Library.

NORMAL COLLEGE AND TRINITY COLLEGE The Presidency of Braxton Craven, 1850-1882

From earliest days the institution that became Duke University has found itself led by men who were deeply concerned with both the systematic study of religion and the contributions of religion to the tone of the campus and the character of the students. Braxton Craven, in establishing Normal College (the state-approved training school for teachers) in Randolph County in 1850, not only determined to educate teachers for the schools of North Carolina but also prescribed Bible reading as a part of each student's instruction. The *Catalogue of Normal College*, 1850-51, has this policy statement: "While sectarianism is rigorously excluded, the Bible is a constant textbook; portions are read and explained to the students daily, and all the duties of men are constantly urged. For unless high, noble, and good character be formed, learning is in vain; neither Home nor State is profited by cultivated minds with bad hearts; humanity needs no such aid."

At this time the major book collections at the college belonged to the two literary societies, the Columbian and the Hesperian. As early as 1850 the Columbian Society noted in its *Minutes* that it owned thirty-two books, including Josephus, *Ecclesiastical History*, and *Ancient Israelites*. By 1861 the Theological Society had been formed and its members had purchased several hundred volumes. For several decades these society collections were the only real libraries on campus.

In 1851 President Craven made a connection for the College with the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, offering the facilities of Normal College to give pre-ministerial training without

charge to aspiring ministers. The Conference was given the authority to appoint one professor and a board of visitors. The Conference was apparently pleased with the arrangement, for in 1852 the Conference Committee on Education reported that "the department for the education and training of young men for the ministry is in a healthy and growing condition. Some ten or twelve candidates for the sacred office are diligently engaged in preparing themselves for the great work of preaching the Gospel."

Braxton Craven had hoped to establish formally a professorship of "Divinity" or "Theology" at that time, with the appointment of the Reverend Peter Doub, well-known preacher and revivalist and a member of the North Carolina Conference; however, President Craven was warned not to make such an explicit appointment. On September 16, 1854, he received a letter from the Reverend A. C. Pell, who argued for a different approach. "... Let Brother Doub be appointed by your Board, 'Professor of Mental and Moral Science.' That is enough. I object to placing 'Theology' or 'Divinity' in the title for these reasons: First, your charter does not authorize you to establish a 'Theological Professorship.' No college in the state has, I think. In former days our Legislature was very hostile to it, and many of its members would be so now. Secondly, it would prejudice the interests of Normal College vastly before the community—Indeed, many Methodists would point their finger at it as a 'theological school,' which would kill it beyond resurrection. Again, I object to placing the professorship under the control of the Conference."¹

This advice was taken seriously, and Craven himself was named Professor of Mental and Moral Science in 1854, with teaching duties in the area of "Moral Philosophy" and "Evidence of Christianity." In the 1856 *Catalogue of Normal College* the course on "Evidence of Christianity" centered particularly on the thought of "Alexander, Paley, and Butler," presumably Archibald Alexander of Princeton, 1772-1851, William Paley, popular English theologian and churchman, 1743-1805, and Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham, 1692-1752. First editions of works by these three

¹Chaffin, p. 134.

theologians are to be found in the Duke University Library.

The attitude of North Carolina Methodists toward higher education for ministers is an issue of significance here; book collecting in religion would probably have begun in earnest much earlier if there had been enthusiasm for theological training in their own colleges during the nineteenth century. A number of philosophical and financial factors were responsible for the development of this attitude.

On the practical side is the fact that for many years the Methodist circuits in the state were divided among the annual conferences of Virginia, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Randolph-Macon College was built just over the Virginia line, and the North Carolina Conference tended to favor that school for training its youth. Later in the nineteenth century Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee, became a favorite institution for graduate education of North Carolina Methodist ministers. Since North Carolina Methodists were attending and supporting out-of-state institutions, there was reluctance to duplicate such schools in the state.

Umphrey Lee observed that in colonial days "there was little room for the Methodists to found colleges in some of the states because of the establishment of churches." Peter Cartwright, noted evangelist of the nineteenth century, based his objection to the education of preachers on the fact that Methodism could spare no ministers from the field to become "located" as college professors or college presidents.² The *Methodist Discipline* of 1789 encouraged the preacher to choose the saving of souls over the pursuit of learning. "We ought to throw by all the libraries in the world rather than be guilty of the loss of one soul."³

The Methodist Church had within its own history and mode of action a number of reasons for lack of interest in the education of ministers. Lee listed some of them: (1) Methodist ministers were usually men who had the equivalent of a good secondary education; (2) the ministers

²Umphrey Lee, *For the Rising Generation: a Sketch of the Methodist Heritage in Higher Education* (Nashville: Methodist Publishing House, 1958), p. 6.

³*Methodist Discipline* 1789, p. 28.

were subjected to a "course of study" that brought them well above the level of frontier congregations; (3) qualities other than education were needed to send a man across mountains and through streams to face storms and savage Indians in order to preach the gospel; and (4) Methodists in the United States had a special understanding of what John Wesley had intended his followers to do. According to Lee, Wesley's own idea was not to leave the Church of England, with its educated clergy, but to recruit preachers for extraordinary and supplemental work, to preach evangelistic sermons, to reach those not being reached by the ordinary means of the Church of England. The Society founded by Wesley evolved into the Methodist Church, and the Methodists in America became separated from the original traditions. They preferred Methodist ministers with little formal education. It was, in fact, believed that ministers too well educated could not understand the lower classes of people.

After the Civil War the North Carolina Conference agreed to establish a Professorship of Biblical Literature. There was no longer the problem of the college's being a state school, for in 1859 Normal College had become Trinity College, fully affiliated with the North Carolina Conference. The curriculum was changed to one similar to that of other colleges which offered baccalaureate degrees.

In 1866, Craven attended the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at which Bishop D. S. Doggett, Chairman of the Committee on Education, recommended that fully-organized Bible Schools be established in the Methodist colleges for the training of young ministers. In response to this, the Trustees of Trinity College proposed the establishment of a Department of Theology; and the North Carolina Conference, meeting in November 1866, agreed that this proposal be adopted and that the Reverend Peter Doub be named as Professor of Biblical Literature.

The *Catalogue of Trinity College, 1867-1868*, announced that "a Theological School has been established and fully organized" and that after one year's operation it was considered "very successful."⁴ Sixteen theological

⁴*Catalogue of Trinity College, 1867-1868*, pp. 16, 17.

students were listed. Students might take courses for the preparation of ministers only or might take the four-year course leading to a Bachelor's degree. Peter Doub, Professor of Biblical Literature, headed a department that offered an unusually large number of courses for the four-year program. Biblical studies, including the requisite languages, were emphasized, along with theology, church history, philosophy, ethics, and elocution and homiletics for the preachers.

After three years of teaching, Peter Doub died in 1869. Doub had been an impressive first appointment to the Department of Biblical Literature, and he had filled that position "with great credit to himself and great usefulness to the Church."⁵

Up to the time of Doub's death, Craven had hoped that endowment money for the Department of Biblical Literature at Trinity would be given by the North Carolina Conference; but the necessary funds were not available. Craven himself was left with the teaching duties of that department, and he evidently fulfilled them with no outside assistance until he died. This was characteristic of the man who had made so many personal sacrifices for the sake of the survival of Trinity College. His continuing concern with the intellectual and spiritual development of the youth of North Carolina was evident in his vision of what Trinity College should be. In 1868 he wrote in his diary that "Without religion a college is a curse to society";⁶ and in the 1874 *Catalogue* he pointed out the desired balance wherein Trinity aspired "to promote good morals and personal piety, as well as thorough scholarship, and liberal culture."⁷ His ideals, shared by succeeding presidents of Trinity College, were realized in greater breadth in Duke University.

The 1879 Constitution of the Theological Society indicates that the Society library was growing satisfactorily. A list of librarian's duties was given, with rules for the borrowing of books by Society members. Each member was to pay the sum of twenty-five cents during each official term for the increase of the Library and other expenses of the Society.

⁵Marquis L. Wood, "Eulogy on the Life and Labors of Rev. Peter Doub, D. D." in *The Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina* (Raleigh, N. C.: John Nichols, 1876), p. 262.

⁶Chaffin, p. 297.

⁷*Catalogue of Trinity College*, 1874, p. 3.

In addition, a fine of twenty-five cents per week was charged for overdue books. The Theological Society met regularly to hear papers and to debate formally such topics as: "Is the doctrine of tithes taught in the Bible binding on the world at the present time?" and "Is it proper for members of the Methodist Episcopal Church to visit the circus?"⁸

After the death of President Craven in November 1882 the chairman of the faculty, Professor W. H. Pegram, served as chief administrator. The Reverend Marquis L. Wood became president for the year 1883-84 and continued as Professor of Metaphysics, Logic, and Theology. Upon his resignation, Trinity College had from 1884 to 1886 a Committee of Management composed of three influential members of the board of trustees: J. W. Alspaugh, Julian S. Carr, and James A. Gray. The Rev. John F. Heitman, Professor of Metaphysics and Theology, performed the necessary administrative duties in the interim.

The Presidency of John F. Crowell, 1887-1894

In 1887 Trinity College elected a new president, John Franklin Crowell, a Pennsylvanian who had been educated at Dartmouth and Yale. Crowell was a dynamic and aggressive young administrator, aged twenty-nine, with a scholarly background in Christian ethics and New Testament, political science, psychology, and economics. In addition to performing his presidential duties he taught theology in the years 1887-1888. John Heitman continued to serve as Professor of Metaphysics and Greek. At this time the theology program offered courses leading to a Bachelor of Divinity degree, which was an undergraduate degree similar to that of Bachelor of Arts.

A new interest in the campus libraries was expressed with the coming of the new president, who had special concern for the collection held by the Theological Society. Under Crowell's inspiration the president of the Theological Society solicited gifts of books from publishing houses. The Society's librarian re-shelved the books for more convenient use, and the treasurer was authorized to spend any remaining funds for library books.⁹

⁸Minutes, *Theological Society*, 1886-1893.

⁹Breedlove, p. 48.

Crowell recommended that the libraries of the Columbian and Hesperian literary societies and the Theological Society be combined with the College Reference Library so that all the book resources of the campus could be made available to the College. The societies retained ownership of all their volumes, which made up a collection of about ten thousand. Crowell himself became Chief Librarian for four years, 1888-1892, and personally made records for the books in his charge. Trying to convince the public as well as the campus residents of the need for research materials, he appealed for additions to the Library through the public press. In 1889 Crowell spent his Christmas vacation visiting libraries in the East, seeking improvements to bring back to Trinity's library.¹⁰

Crowell also enlisted faculty support for library development. In 1891 Stephen B. Weeks came to Trinity in the Department of History and Political Science; and he was named, without pay, librarian and chairman of the "Reading Room Committee." The particular enthusiasm that Crowell and his appointees brought to the College found expression in an article by Weeks published throughout the state, "The Renaissance: a Plea for Trinity College Library." In part the article says, "We have set out to do greater things than have ever been dreamed of in North Carolina before. Our library has had some share in this radiant reawakening. We wish it to profit more. We are very much in need of books of all kinds. We need especially books on history, and most of all do we need the materials for history."¹¹

The purpose of collecting materials was, not to amass a large library, but specifically to provide source materials for original work in the history of the South. At this time southern scholars were forced to go to northern universities in order to carry on research on their own region, including southern church history. Weeks concluded, "It is hoped that every Methodist, and every citizen of the State, will feel that he has a personal interest in this collection, and that in contributing to it he is doing something towards building, developing, and strengthening North Carolina and

¹⁰Chaffin, p. 428.

¹¹Stephen B. Weeks, "The Renaissance: A Plea for Trinity College Library," *Trinity Archive* V (February, 1892), 182.

the South.”¹² In response to this appeal several hundred volumes were donated to the Library between 1891 and 1892.

One of the earliest of the major book funds is the Avera Bible Fund, begun in the 1890s and still in use by the Divinity School Library. Mrs. Alva L. Avera of Smithfield, North Carolina, had given a large tract of land to Trinity College; the funds from the sale of this land were to be used to construct a Divinity building in memory of her husband, Willis H. Avera. But when the land was sold, the college received \$2500, not enough for a building. The money was used, however, as a memorial fund to sponsor Bible lectures and to obtain materials for the study of the Bible. According to Joseph P. Breedlove, “The first recorded purchase of books with the income from this Fund was made in 1899-1900, when fifty-eight books were purchased.”¹³ The Avera Bible Fund continues to make possible the purchase of many excellent books in the area of Biblical studies.

President Crowell worked continuously to expand the educational interests of Methodism in the face of opposition from many Methodist ministers and laymen. His Yankee background and the new standards of excellence that he was trying to introduce made him suspect even before he launched a campaign to move Trinity College to an urban area. He personally felt that he was doing his part to keep peace, and he took care to make regular reports in person to the Methodist conferences. In his *Personal Recollections* Crowell noted that, except for his first conference, he was never asked to participate in making decisions that affected Trinity College. He also felt that North Carolina Methodism was exceedingly slow to see the importance of training its youth to recognize and meet “the problems of religion and society in human affairs.”¹⁴ Crowell continually pointed to the pioneering power of early Methodism and to the fact that John and Charles Wesley had been Oxford University students. The Methodists of the state, however, did not see themselves as being in contrast with the Wesleys and in

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹³Breedlove, p. 49.

¹⁴Crowell, p. 240; see Chapter XXXI. “Connection of the College with Conferences,” *passim*.

any case were not ready to accept criticism or new guidelines from a Yankee. It was said of Crowell, when he proposed that Trinity College be moved, that "northern frost had come South to nip southern flowers."¹⁵

The shifting of Trinity from its original rural setting into the lifestream of a developing city was eventually recognized as a necessary step in the "Renaissance" of learning in the South. Years later Trinity College president William Few wrote that Crowell "was by temperament and training well-fitted for the task which the conditions of the College and the State called upon him for . . . he was the first modern university-trained man to become president of a college in the South . . . it is the sober truth to say that Dr. Crowell was the very first man to bring in from the outside the real breath of progress."¹⁶

Crowell was convinced that it was necessary for the growth and health of the College to move it into an urban setting where creative forces were at work and where financial support would be more available. Unfortunately, both the unpropitious times and Crowell's own misunderstanding of the attitudes of the people with whom he dealt led to his resignation as president and to the near-failure of Trinity to survive. This story deserves mention here not only because of the major role of the forces of religion but also because graduate education in theology was a part of Crowell's plan for the new curriculum at Trinity College. If Crowell had been successful, graduate education of ministers would have begun in 1893, with a corresponding acceleration of the library collection at that time, rather than waiting until the establishment of the School of Religion in 1926, as provided for by James B. Duke.

Crowell presented his proposal to move Trinity College at the 1889 meeting of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He spoke sincerely and eloquently to the Conference and won its approval. Raleigh was the site chosen at first, but Durham was the final choice because Washington Duke pledged greater financial backing and also because Durham was somewhat

¹⁵Edwin Mims, "Trinity College: a General Sketch," *Trinity Archive*, XV (November, 1901), 100.

¹⁶William P. Few, "Twenty-Five Years of Trinity College," *Trinity Alumni Register* III (July, 1917), 143.

closer to the western part of the state. Apparently the element of divided geographical loyalties was not taken seriously by Crowell, although the East-West division had long been reflected in political and economic rivalries. Since the Methodist Conference in 1899 was contemplating a split into Eastern and Western Conferences, the Methodists of the West were very upset about moving Trinity to the territory of the Eastern Conference.

Many other reasons were given in the swell of opposition. The reluctance of the Western Methodists to part with the College was supported by sentiments of alumni who thought Trinity would not be Trinity in another setting, who saw cities as centers of immorality, and who felt that for Trinity to move away from the burial place of Braxton Craven would be near sacrilege. John Crowell, on the other hand, felt that he was continuing the work of his predecessor, making concrete the visions shared by Craven and himself. In his *Personal Recollections* Crowell wrote of Craven, "I reaped often where he sowed; I suffered the misunderstanding to which his great heart and mind were no stranger . . . the prophetic spirit of a leader working and pleading for the larger and more abundant life of the plain people."¹⁷

In his reminiscences Crowell continued, "Believe me or not, my heart was all along with the folk at Old Trinity though my head faced Durhamwards during the two and a half years between the decision and the final departure. In spite of the fact that gentry who knew better threw insults in church and on the streets at members of my family, I loved the place and its people."¹⁸ The townspeople of Old Trinity were to a significant extent dependent upon the college financially, and some of the college faculty had made local investments as well. They naturally did not wish to see this beneficial arrangement uprooted.

By the early 1890s extreme economic depression was in the country, culminating in the financial panics of 1893 and 1895. Crowell continued to push for the moving of the College and perhaps did not recognize the antagonism which was arising in response. The faculty was unhappy because of

¹⁷Crowell, *Recollections*, pp. 127-128.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 138.

their own financial problems, Crowell's authoritarian tendencies, and their unusually large teaching load.

In the summer of 1892 Trinity College was moved to new buildings in Durham and thereupon endured several years of crisis before its continuance was guaranteed. Crowell continued to act with assurance in those patterns which he had come to value in his own education in the North; and then in 1894 he came to see himself, accurately or not, as having outlived his usefulness at Trinity College. His relationship with the Methodist conferences was most disappointing to him. In spite of his great plans for new faculty and expanded curriculum, the program at Trinity College was pared down and simplified, for Crowell recognized the extreme financial problems and the need to wait for expansion. The Methodist conferences were not able to produce the money pledged for the support of Trinity, and creditors were demanding payment. There were resignations from the faculty and demands for Crowell's resignation.

At this time Crowell decided to introduce intercollegiate football at Trinity, a course of action which he evidently considered non-controversial. He believed firmly in the value of sports and saw nothing wrong in Trinity's team playing the teams of other colleges. In 1892, however, the Western North Carolina Conference criticized these "match-games" as "a source of evil, and of no little evil, and ought to be stopped."¹⁹

Crowell couldn't believe that they really understood his football program, and in his report to that Conference in 1893 he made the great error of spending over five pages explaining and defending football at Trinity and only three and one-half pages describing student religious life. In a case of disastrous tactlessness he speculated in his report that their judgment on football in 1892 was "like many other statements that get into our Conference records" in that it "was passed unchallenged, as though it would do no harm if it did no good."²⁰ The Conference Board of Education responded by finding Crowell's comments "neither

¹⁹*Journal of the Western North Carolina Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Third Session, Nov. 30 to Dec. 5, 1892, p. 44.*

²⁰*Annual Report of the President of Trinity College, Durham, North Carolina, to the North Carolina Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Autumn, 1893, p. 25.*

courteous nor correct," and restated "with the utmost deliberation that the position taken by the Conference last year against inter-collegiate games expresses the intelligent will of the Conference."²¹

Crowell rose to speak in response to this report of the Board of Education toward the end of the meeting when everyone else was eager to hear the new appointments. For this or other reasons Crowell was refused the floor before the vote, and the negative report of the Board of Education was accepted overwhelmingly. Crowell interpreted this as a vote of no-confidence in him, and no one assured him otherwise. Stunned and hurt, he returned to Trinity College, stopped intercollegiate contests, and presented his resignation at the end of the school year. In his *Personal Recollections* he stated that this action of the Western North Carolina Conference "more than all other things put together drove me from North Carolina."²²

At the same Western North Carolina Conference meeting of 1893, the dean of the Vanderbilt Biblical School, Dr. Wilbur F. Tillett, spoke in opposition to the proposed program of graduate education for ministers at Trinity. This was a corroboration of the accomplished fact, for already such strong sentiments had been expressed against competing with Vanderbilt in this field that plans at Trinity had been abandoned. The traditional sentiment against theological instruction for ministers as well as financial problems had discouraged the trustees.

The Trinity College Catalogues from 1890 to 1894 tell the story. In 1890-91 the announcement was made that theological courses were being opened for the instruction of candidates for the Christian ministry, and that after 1893 the B. D. would be a graduate degree, based on a B. A. prerequisite.²³ In 1891-92 a reversal had taken place, with conference courses being offered for preparation of students for the Methodist ministry but no degrees granted. Among the faculty were L. W. Crawford, Professor of Theology; Frank E. Welch, Professor of Latin, Greek, and French;

²¹*Journal of the Western North Carolina Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Fourth Session. Nov. 29 to Dec. 4, 1893, p. 62.*

²²Crowell, *Recollections*, p. 247.

²³*Catalogue of Session 1890-91 and Announcements for Session 1891-92, Durham, N. C., p. 86.*

and John F. Crowell, Professor of Mental, Moral, and Social Sciences. Courses included ecclesiastical history, Hebrew, New Testament Greek, English Bible, and Christian evidences. In 1893-94 the *Catalogue* stated explicitly that "ministerial students intending to pursue theological studies after graduation are advised to enter the Biblical Department of Vanderbilt University."²⁴ Somewhat ironically, Vanderbilt formally severed its ties with the Methodist Church in 1914.

The Presidency of John C. Kilgo, 1894-1910

Although Crowell did dream ahead of his time, happily he was followed in the presidency by men who shared the same dream of moving Trinity College into the nation's mainstream with the purpose of learning society's needs and helping to solve its problems. After Crowell's resignation John C. Kilgo of South Carolina was elected president of Trinity and took office in the autumn of 1894. Kilgo, who was well-known as an eloquent preacher in the South Carolina Conference, had an outstanding record as professor and financial agent of Wofford College, his alma mater. His election brought new hope to the College. Financial problems were beginning to be solved, and no doubt many alumni and friends gave sighs of relief to have a southerner at the helm of Trinity again. Kilgo was no less a vigorous advocate of progressive education, however, and he soon had the state astir with his speeches on behalf of the College Library and Christian education.

In 1894 efforts were made to establish a North Carolina Conference Historical Society with headquarters at Trinity College. Old minutes of conferences, books and papers on Methodism, records of individual churches, and any other related publications were to be collected; but no record of any great success in gathering such material is available at this time.

The Avera funds were still the most productive resource for volumes in religion. At the turn of the century the college catalogues were urging other friends of Trinity to make contributions for use in the study of the Bible. The religion

²⁴*Catalogue of Trinity College, 1893-1894*, p. 22.

collection had increased by the addition of subscriptions to such journals as the *Southern Methodist Review*; the *Christian Advocate* of New York, Nashville, and North Carolina; and the *Epworth News*.

The College Library was in the hands of specified faculty members and students until 1898, when the first full-time librarian, Joseph P. Breedlove, was appointed. With this appointment the Trinity College Library took a large step towards becoming that research center of the South that John Crowell and Stephen Weeks had envisioned. In 1899 a Trinity College Library Association was formed to arouse new interest in and support of the Library. By 1900 plans were being carried forward for a new library building donated by James B. Duke.²⁵

In those years President Kilgo was the force shaping the religion curriculum as well as the religion book collection. He personally kept the Department of Bible Studies alive, adding Plato T. Durham to the religion faculty in 1899 and E. A. Yates in 1900. A wide variety of religion courses was offered by these men. Kilgo's own Bible course extended over four years and was required of every student. The course frankly set out "to acquaint the student with the truth of Divine revelation," covering both Testaments and the evidences of Christianity. Not all students absorbed the details of the course, as is indicated by this item from a student news column in a 1901 issue of the *Archive*: "If you want to get a certain student upset ask him to locate the book of Philistines in the Bible."

Kilgo stimulated donations of books to the religion collection through his dynamic personal appearances at various events in the state, and many ministers and laymen gave generously. In fact, for a good many years the number of books donated exceeded the number bought by the college. It was said of Kilgo that he "is welcomed everywhere he goes, and as an appreciation of the people's interest in him and his work he brings back a box of books on his return."²⁶

Not only Kilgo but also the whole college campaigned for

²⁵Paul N. Garber, *John Carlisle Kilgo, President of Trinity College, 1894-1910* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1937), p. 136. See also Breedlove, *Duke University Library*, pp. 16-19.

²⁶*Trinity Archive*, VIII (February, 1895), 25.

library materials, with the result that the Library, exclusive of Society collections, contained ten thousand volumes by 1898. Students helped with the cataloguing and classification as well. But Kilgo was not satisfied with only moderate progress. He felt that there was not yet a real college library in the entire South and, like Stephen Weeks, he criticized the conditions that made it necessary for students to go to the North for library facilities.

John Spencer Bassett, Professor of History, elaborated on this theme in his article, "The Need of a Great Reference Library in the South," published in the *Trinity Archive* in 1901.²⁷ He cited the new impulse in the state to build libraries for research, this impulse having first appeared with President Crowell at Trinity College. Bassett mentioned the large number of young men from the South who had gone to greater universities elsewhere, and the fact that in order to write southern history from original sources they had to leave the South again. He called for southern colleges and universities to take the initiative in raising money and collecting such libraries, for only the institutions of higher education felt the need of the development of southern intellectual life and were striving for it.

In the same issue of the *Trinity Archive* an editorial reinforced this hope: "There has arisen in the South a class of institutions that are standing for progressive ideals in education, and which have come to mean, in the educational life of the South, what Yale and Harvard and similar institutions have meant to that of New England. We feel that Trinity is destined to become such an institution."²⁸

The year 1903 was marked by major steps in Trinity College's progress toward educational excellence. In February of that year the new library building was dedicated. It was the largest library building in the state, with a capacity of 100,000 volumes. The donor of the building, James B. Duke, also gave \$10,000 for the purchase of books. Walter Hines Page gave the dedication speech and quoted Mr. Duke's message for the occasion, "Tell them every man to think for himself." Kilgo proceeded to demonstrate that he practiced freedom of thought by making the statement that "in the

²⁷*Trinity Archive*, XV (November, 1901), 129-136.

²⁸*Trinity Archive*, XV (November, 1901), 140.

South there has been an easy contentment and a sluggish regard for new and broader regions of thought, and it remains with the college of the South to bring in a new order by raising the standards of leadership, increasing the value of the strong man, and elevating the true mission of life With new and larger books will come new and deeper ideas which, in turn, will bring forth broader and sturdier men.”²⁹

With the new library building came attempts to collect church records. “Church leaders were urged to send their old records to the library for safekeeping in its fireproof vault, to be classified, catalogued, and arranged for easy use. A few ministers and church boards responded, but enthusiasm for the worthy project waned, mainly because no secretary or clerk was provided to publicize it and to handle such materials as were received.”³⁰

Important gift collections began to come to the Trinity College Library; many contained materials of importance to the study of religion. One such gift was the Ethel Carr Peacock library given in 1903.

It was also in 1903 that the College became famous for its stand taken in defense of the published opinions of one of its faculty members, John Spencer Bassett. The President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, came to the campus in October 1905 and gave his tribute: “You stand for all those things which the scholar must stand for if he is to render real and lasting service to the State. You stand for academic freedom, for the right of private judgment, for the duty more incumbent upon the scholar than upon any other man, to tell the truth as he sees it, to claim for himself and to give to others the largest liberty in seeking after truth.”³¹

In 1904 William Preston Few, then Professor of English and Dean of Trinity College, wrote an article for the *South Atlantic Quarterly* in which he emphasized the importance of good colleges in meeting the educational needs of the South. Excerpts from his article suffice to give his educational

²⁹*The Formal Opening of the Trinity College Library, February 23, 1903. Durham, North Carolina.* pp. 12, 13.

³⁰Breedlove, *Duke University Library*, p. 24.

³¹“President Roosevelt at Trinity College,” *North Carolina Christian Advocate*, October 26, 1905, p. 1 quoted from Garber, *John Carlisle Kilgo*, p. 285.

philosophy: "I believe that the supreme need in Southern education is a small number of well-equipped and well-endowed colleges for men and women, so organized and so controlled as to become true seats of learning and large centers of influence The work that I have in mind to be done by the college cannot even be approximated except by colleges that have larger facilities and larger prospects than most of our colleges in the past have had Such colleges must stand fast for truth and freedom. There is much in the life of every people that tends to put undue emphasis on the local and temporary and to obscure the universal and permanent. A great college must be free to seek this universal truth and free to teach it Educated men in the South today should not spend their lives in easeful, kid-glove seclusion from their fellows, but in the stream of the world. They ought to be gallant and thoroughly disciplined soldiers in the long warfare for the emancipation of humanity out of darkness and ignorance into light and truth."³²

During these years donations helped in obtaining new faculty members. In 1907 John J. Wooten joined the faculty as Professor of Biblical Literature. Of greatest assistance to the religion department was the agreement in 1908-09 of the two North Carolina conferences of the Methodist Church to underwrite a Professorship in Bible for Trinity College.

The Library, too, continued to grow, and at the end of the Kilgo administration it contained the second largest collection in the state, with 37,600 bound volumes and 11,361 pamphlets.

Kilgo resigned in 1910 to become a Methodist bishop. He was able to look back upon an administration of sixteen years in which Trinity College had been put on firm ground financially and, of equal importance, a period in which the role of Trinity College in its ministry to the region and beyond had been established. Following Crowell, Kilgo placed Trinity College in the full stream of intellectual and social developments so that henceforth Trinity would be acknowledged as a guardian of the free pursuit of truth and also as a "citizen" attempting to carry out its responsibilities

³²William Preston Few, "Some Educational Needs of the South," *South Atlantic Quarterly* III (July, 1904), 208-210 *passim*.

to the South and the nation.

Principles of this sort were actualized in the life of Trinity College, and their effects upon the development of the Library and the Department of Religion may have been subtle, but were nevertheless important in keeping interests on a high level of inquiry with no limits on the areas of research. These principles were accompanied, at the same time, by a more explicit emphasis upon the College as a place of religion. The dual interest in truth and benevolent social activity sprang from the roots of religion. Both Craven and Crowell were concerned with the training of students according to the standards of Christian citizenship; and Kilgo vigorously defended his belief in Christian education which he defined as "that education that assumes Christ's estimate of all things and seeks to develop manhood in the light of His ideals and by His methods and inculcates His truths as the fundamental truths of personal and social character."³³

The Presidency of William Preston Few, 1910-1941

In 1910, after John C. Kilgo resigned, William Preston Few was elected president of Trinity College. A less forceful advocate of religion than Kilgo, Few nevertheless was strongly in favor of the teaching of religion at the College. He was eager to keep Trinity close to the Methodist Church, and he also gave attention to the Y.M.C.A. and to the pre-ministerial group on campus. Between 1910 and 1918 Methodist conferences gave substantial gifts for the financing of chairs in Bible. Bishop Kilgo returned to give his Bible course for several years, and in 1911 Franklin N. Parker became Avera Professor of Biblical Literature.

In 1911 President Few published in *South Atlantic Quarterly* an article entitled "The College in Southern Development," part of which revealed some of his thoughts on religion at Trinity: "Upon the college in the South rests the further duty of mediation between the religious conservatism of this region and the great intellectual ferment of the age. Again the problem is to keep the good that has come to us out of the past and adjust it to the conditions and needs of the present The southern college, if it be wise enough to understand its opportunity, will work in

³³Porter, p. 69.

hearty coöperation with the churches.”³⁴

The Department of Religion at Trinity College took advantage of the services of teachers from the Departments of Education and Philosophy, and President Few himself came from the English Department to give a course in the teachings of Jesus. Costen J. Harrell was an instructor in Biblical Literature from 1913 to 1915, and Mr. Brabham, of the Methodist Sunday School Board, also served on the faculty. In 1915 William W. Peele became Avera Professor of Biblical Literature, and W. Foster Starnes was an assistant. In 1916 Professor Peele offered several special pre-ministerial courses. Beginning in 1912 Sunday-school teachers were trained through a Conference Sunday School Institute, which continued until 1918.

With the entrance of the United States into World War I, the priorities at Trinity College shifted away from ancient languages and religious education. The religion faculty moved to other fields temporarily or taught the students that were not part of the Student Army Training Corps unit then on the Trinity campus. Nevertheless, Hersey E. Spence was added to the religion faculty in 1918-1919 as Professor of Biblical Literature and Religious Education. One year later James Cannon joined the faculty as Assistant Professor of Biblical Literature.

In the early 1920s President Few prevailed upon the Methodist conferences to sponsor two more teaching chairs: James Cannon became Ivey Professor of Biblical Literature, and Jesse M. Ormond was named Professor of Biblical Literature. Courses in religion in the early 1920s included Bible, church history, Methodism, homiletics, missions, psychology, and religious education. Professor Ormond added a new dimension to the curriculum by making available courses in church administration and rural sociology. Philosophy of Religion was taught as a graduate course. President Few even began to speak of his hopes of establishing a School of Religion at Trinity College, a school of graduate theological education to be named for John C. Kilgo. That plan, however, lay dormant until 1924.

With the addition of new, well-educated scholars to the

³⁴William Preston Few, "The College in Southern Development," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, X (January, 1911), 2.

faculty, the suspicion arose among laymen that Trinity had succumbed to "intellectual" religion. The College received letters complaining about the lack of spiritual life evident in the faculty. President Few responded gently but to the point that it is easy to "overestimate the dangers of intellectual misconceptions about the Bible." But some churchmen retained their doubts of critical scholarship as the proper way to approach the scriptures.

The Library had been growing steadily but slowly since 1910, with gifts still the major source of additional volumes. Since Trinity was concerned with undergraduate education, there was little motivation to build solidly around the gift collections, excellent though they were. Among those gifts of special benefit to research in religion were the library of Professor John F. Heitman, donated in 1919-20; the library of Dr. W. S. Black, who had been superintendent of Oxford Orphanage and editor of the *Raleigh Christian Advocate*; the library of Dr. Witt Moore; and forty volumes of the *Sunday School Times*, given by Mr. H. N. Snow. In 1922-23 the library of the Reverend James T. Lyon was donated, a collection of ninety-five volumes of Biblical literature, theology, and Methodist material.³⁵

In the "Report of the President of Trinity College" in 1922, Dr. Few noted the growth of the Department of Religion: "Twenty years ago a Department of Biblical Literature was established with one professor. Three years ago the Department was enlarged and reorganized into the Department of Biblical Literature and Religious Education with two full men and two other departments coöperating. Eighteen full three-hour courses are now offered. One of these is required, and it is a regular three-hour course on an academic basis. The course covers the entire Bible with the Bible as text More than a hundred students have been enrolled in elective courses this year Nearly three times as many elective courses have been taken in the Department during the last three years as during the seventeen years preceding." In conclusion President Few encouraged the establishment of a fully developed "School of Religious Training."³⁶

³⁵See Breedlove, *Duke University Library*, pp. 49 ff.

³⁶*Report of the President of Trinity College*, 1922, pp. 7, 9.

During all the years of the location of Trinity College in Durham, the Duke family had been major benefactors and friends. Washington Duke's influence was not used to support narrow interests but rather to enable Trinity to operate freely, and the College presidents looked to him for inspiration and personal counsel as well as for funds. Trinity College administrators were also encouraged by the constant friendship of Washington Duke's sons, James B. Duke and Benjamin N. Duke.

This friendship reached its culmination in 1924 when Trinity College became Duke University by decision of James B. Duke and acceptance of the Trinity College Board of Trustees. Mr. Duke's well known expression of hope for the new university is excerpted here from the original statement of the establishment of the Duke Endowment: "I have selected Duke University as one of the principal objects of this trust because I recognize that education, when conducted along sane and practical, as opposed to dogmatic and theoretical lines, is, next to religion, the greatest civilizing influence I advise that the courses at this institution be arranged, first, with special reference to the training of preachers, teachers, lawyers, and physicians, because these are most in the public eye, and by precept and example can do most to uplift mankind"

Adopted by the Board of Trustees, Article I of the Bylaws of the University reads as follows: "The aims of Duke University are to assert a faith in the eternal union of knowledge and religion set forth in the teaching and character of Jesus Christ, the Son of God; to advance learning in all lines of truth; to defend scholarship against all false notions and ideals; to develop a Christian love of freedom and truth; to promote a sincere spirit of tolerance; to discourage all partisan and sectarian strife; and to render the largest permanent service to the individual, the state, the nation, and the church. Unto these ends shall the affairs of the University always be administered."

In an article for the *Alumni Register* in 1925, former Trinity College president John Franklin Crowell, at age sixty-seven, rejoiced that some of his dreams for the college had come true three decades after his departure. He bestowed this blessing: "Let no petty narrowness from any

quarter ever lay its cold, freezing hand upon those who aspire to make a great and noble institution."³⁷

The School of Religion was established at Duke in 1926 to make possible graduate study in theology leading to the Bachelor of Divinity degree. The School of Religion Catalogue for 1926-27 announced the following faculty: President Few; Edmund D. Soper as the Dean and Professor of the History of Religion; B. Harvie Branscomb, Professor of New Testament; Paul N. Garber, Professor of Church History; Elbert Russell, Professor of Biblical Interpretation; James Cannon III, Ivey Professor of Christian Missions; Allen H. Godbey, Professor of Old Testament; and Howard M. LeSourd, Professor of Religious Education.

³⁷Wesley Taylor, "Former Trinity President calls for Freedom of Thought and Speech," *Alumni Register*, XI (April, 1925), 171.

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Porter, Earl W. *Trinity and Duke, 1892-1924: Foundations of Duke University*, Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1964.

In addition, the following items in University Archives were consulted: the catalogues of Trinity College and Duke University; the various published reports of the president, the librarian, and deans of the University; the *Trinity Archive*; the *Alumni Register*; the *South Atlantic Quarterly*; *Library Notes*; and the manuscript Minutes of the Theological Society of Trinity College.



Conrad's father, uncle, and grandfather: Apollo Korzeniowski, left; Hilary Korzeniowski, center; and Teodor Korzeniowski, right.

YOUNG JÓZEF TEODOR KONRAD KORZENIOWSKI

Virginia R. Gray

The collection of manuscripts and pictures of Józef Teodor Konrad Korzeniowski—Joseph Conrad—in the William R. Perkins Library includes a photograph album illustrating the early years of his career.

Extraordinary expressiveness places Joseph Conrad among the great English letter writers. Beginning in 1861, his correspondence with Polish relatives and friends continued until his death in 1924. Unfortunately, many of the original letters of Conrad to these people were destroyed in Poland during the Second World War, although copies of the manuscripts have survived. From his uncle, Tadeusz Bobrowski, the self-appointed guardian of young Conrad, another notable series of comments on Poland came from 1869 until 1893. Together the two men contribute a detailed account of Conrad's Polish background, which his photograph album helps to bring to life.

Forty-three photographs revealing the personal ties of Conrad to Poland from 1860 until 1890 remain in the album, which once must have contained fifty-two pictures. As more than one likeness of the same person appears in the volume, changes wrought by the passing years are

discernible. These Polish relatives and friends had great personal significance for the author, whose English novels were strongly influenced by his Polish origin. Conrad placed the small photographs, each measuring ca. 4 x 2½ inches, in roughly chronological order in a black leather-bound book. Its cover decorated with narrow white bands of ivory, the worn little volume is of the type popular in the mid-nineteenth century. A few of the photographs belonged to Ewa and Apollo Korzeniowski, his parents, and were made before the birth of Conrad; others were made when he was a child; Conrad must have treasured these pictures as a record of their short and tragic lives. Surprisingly, no photographs of his mother are to be found in the album. On the reverse of the third picture, probably one of her cousins, the daughter of Uncle Adolf Pilchowski, is written: "I am taking [this] with me in remembrance day 23 November 1861 E K." Certainly E K are the initials of his mother, Ewelina or Ewa, who was very fond of the family of her Uncle Adolf Pilchowski. Apollo had been arrested on November 21, 1861. After seven months of imprisonment and trial Ewa and Apollo were sent into exile by a Russian military court in May, 1862.

Conrad not only received photographs from his affectionate Polish relatives but also sent his pictures to them, as his letter of May 6, 1890, to his cousin, Maryla (Bobrowska) Tyszkowa, proves. Cousin Maryla then sent him a letter and photograph which reached him at Kinchassa, Stanley Pool, the Congo. On September 24, 1890, Conrad wrote to her in return: ". . . and the photograph will be in my album so that I can glance each day at my dear little sister." This picture is still in place.

Although it has not been possible to identify all the pictures, some of which have no inscriptions, many of them are certainly of people with definite Polish addresses in Conrad correspondence. The photographers usually—and helpfully—printed their own places of residence as well as their names on the reverse of the photographic mounts. With Conrad having specific friends in specific Polish places, it is reasonable to name families whose pictures were taken in definite locations; for example, the Zagórskis lived in Lublin, where a number of photographs were made. The

Bobrowskis and the Pilchowskis were the families of his mother; the Korzeniowskis and the Koprowskis, relatives of his father; the Zagórskis, distant cousins; and the Koprowskis, relatives from Krakow. The photographs marked from Lwów were probably of the Syroczyński family.

The first picture in the album, one of Uncle Adolf Pilchowski, was made in 1861. He was the brother of Teofila (Biberstejn-Pilchowska) Bobrowska, the grandmother of Conrad. It was presented to Ewa and Apollo at the sad Christmastide after the arrest of the latter. As Uncle Adolf had favored their courtship in 1856, the picture was sent to them with fatherly blessings. His daughter (?) is also in the picture.

Stefan Buszczyński (2), whose photograph is dated 1871, was the closest friend of Apollo Korzeniowski, both men being well-known patriots and writers.

Ewa Korzeniowska signed her initials "E K" on the back of this picture of her cousin, —————Pilchowska (3), Nov. 23, 1861.

Marguerite (Gachet) Poradowska (4), author, friend, and patroness of young Conrad, was the Belgian wife of a distant cousin, Aleksander Poradowski. The Poradowski family lived in exile in Brussels and was acquainted with Belgian officials in the Congo. Through them Conrad was promised command of a Congo steamboat. Marguerite Poradowska — "ma chère tante"— received letters from Conrad until 1920.

Aunt K (6), as Conrad called her, was the wife of Uncle Kazimierz Bobrowski. Several pictures of her taken over a period of years appear in the album. Her daughters, Zunia, Marta, and Maryla, were favorite cousins of Conrad.

The picture of Apollo Korzeniowski (7), father of Conrad, probably was made in the mid-1850s.

The brothers, Hilary (?) and Apollo Korzeniowski (8), were photographed together. This picture is the earliest of Apollo in the album. He wears a uniform, apparently that of a student.

Aniela (Unrug) Zagórska (9) of Lublin, Poland, posed with her two daughters, Aniela and Karola. The younger Aniela, Conrad's second cousin, in time translated his works into Polish and French.

Karol Zagórski (10) with his daughter Karola sat for this picture, which was made at an earlier date than that of his wife, Aniela, and their two daughters.

Tekla Syroczyńska (12) is probably the subject of this picture. The daughter of Antoni Syroczyński, a distant cousin, she lived in Lwów where Conrad attended school and is reported to have fallen in love with her.

Józef Koprowski (13) was a relative of the grandmother of Conrad, Teofila (Biberstejn-Pilchowska) Bobrowska. His photograph is dated 1867.

Teofila (Biberstejn-Pilchowska) Bobrowska (15 and 16), the grandmother of Conrad, and her son, Uncle Tadeusz, became the immediate family of Conrad after the death of his father in 1869. These two photographs were taken in 1862 in Warsaw, probably before the family of Apollo Korzeniowski went into exile.

"Moi" (17) is Uncle Tadeusz Bobrowski, the self-appointed guardian of Conrad. His letters, which continued until 1893, contain many remarks about people pictured in the album.

Uncle Kazimierz Bobrowski (18), Ewa's brother who helped the exiles, is probably the subject of this picture, which was made in the 1860s.

Aunt K (19) was a very young woman in this photograph.

This picture (20) of the daughter of Uncle Kazimierz was made in 1890. It is probably one of Zunia (Bobrowska) Meresch, who lived at Radom.

Uncle Stanislas Bobrowski (22), a guards officer, was the older brother of Ewa Korzeniowska. He died in 1859.

Maryla Bobrowska (23), daughter of Uncle and Aunt K, was a favorite cousin of Conrad. This picture of her as a little girl was made in the 1860s.

Uncle Tadeusz Bobrowski (24) had this picture made in 1871.

Madzia (Madeleine) Oldakowska (25) of Lublin was the niece of Marguerite Poradowska. She is not to be confused with her sister Maria, who at one time was rumored to be engaged to marry Conrad.

Maryla (Bobrowska) Tyszkowa (26), daughter of Uncle K, sent her picture to Conrad in 1890 for his album.

Teofila (Biberstejn-Pilchowska) Bobrowska (30) is portrayed in old age.

Apollo Nałęcz Korzeniowski (31), father of Conrad, is shown late in the 1860s.

Zunia Bobrowska (32), daughter of Uncle K, was photographed in the 1860s.

Samuel Koprowski (33), a relative of the Bobrowski family, was mentioned in letters in the 1880s. He was called "the Prophet."

Aunt K (34).

Aunt K (37) is with her daughters Zunia (?) and Maryla in the 1860s.

Karol Zagórski (?) of Lublin (41)—Uncle Tadeusz called his family the "dear and good Zagórskis."

Maryla (Bobrowska) Tyszkowa (45), cousin of Conrad, holds in her hand an album marked 1890.

This photograph of one of the Syroczyński family of Lwów (47) may be of Antoni, who was a teacher of Conrad at Lwów.

Grandfather Teodor Korzeniowski (49) died in 1863 during the great revolution of that year. This photograph of a much earlier picture of him is inscribed to Conrad and must date roughly from 1860-1861. He had been a dashing, romantic figure, but was much broken by sorrow and misfortune at the time of his death.

The numbers omitted from the above list between (1) and (52) are either of unknown people or of empty spaces in the album. Great help in identification came from the biographies of Conrad: Jocelyn Baines, *Joseph Conrad: A Critical Biography* (London, 1916) and Zdzisław Najder and Halina Carroll, *Conrad's Polish Background* (London, 1964). The latter contains many Polish letters in translation.

Among the Francis Warrington Dawson II papers in the Manuscript Department are pictures sent to Mr. Dawson by the Conrad family. Six of these copies of original Polish photographs have been of great assistance in identifying key figures in the album, such as Uncle and Aunt K. Conrad himself wrote the names of five of these photographic copies which he had made in Canterbury, England, for Mr. Dawson, who was in Versailles, France.

It is highly probable that this Conrad album was a personal possession of Ewelina (Bobrowska) Korzeniowska, who began it at the time of her arrest and exile in 1861-

1862. The black cover is in keeping with the black dresses worn by Polish women in mourning for the patriots of this troubled period. Two of the 1861 pictures are inscribed "in remembrance." The physical appearance of the album itself suggests the mid-nineteenth century rather than a later time. Evidently the order of pictures in the album, never completely filled by Ewa who died in 1865, has become confused over the years. Conrad placed many of the later photographs in this treasured volume, and only he would have been able to tell with certainty if this album had belonged to his mother.

Appreciation and thanks go to Mrs. Zofia Grzybowska of the Perkins Library staff for her patience and kindness. Her explanation of Polish customs and the translation of Polish inscriptions were invaluable aids to the reconstruction of the life of this volume.



1
Adolf Pilchowski



2
Stefan Buszczyński



4
Marguerite Paradowska



6
Aunt K



7
Apollo Korzeniowski



9
Aniela Zagórska



12
Tekla Syroczyńska



13
Józef Koprowski



15
Teofila Bobrowska



23
Maryla Bobrowska



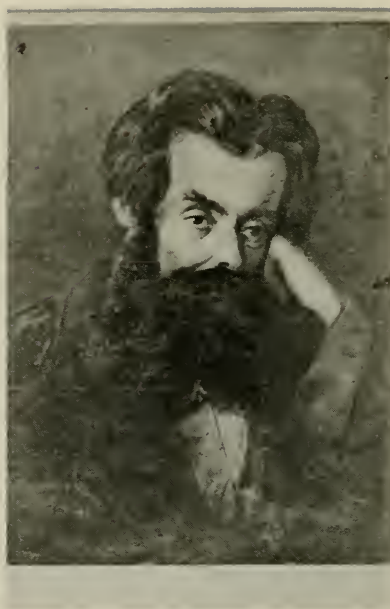
24
Tadeuz Bobrowski



26
*Maryla (Bobrowska)
Tyszkowa*



30
Teofila Bobrowska



31
Apollo Korzeniowski



33
Samuel Koprowski



37
*Aunt K, Zunia (?),
and Maryla*

IN MEMORIAM

William Maxwell Blackburn died on December 9, 1972, in Duke Hospital.

Dr. Blackburn was studying at Oxford, as a Rhodes Scholar, when he was offered an instructorship in English at Duke. That was in 1926. From that time until his retirement in 1969, he taught at this institution.

His first book was on a subject outside his field of specialization; but no one who has read *The Architecture of Duke University* could fail to recognize the learning and the taste that give it unmistakable authority. This same breadth of interest was evidenced in his literary scholarship and in his teaching; he edited a selection of the letters of Joseph Conrad; his doctoral dissertation (submitted to the English faculty at Yale) was a study of Matthew Arnold; the courses with which he became identified at Duke were in Elizabethan Literature and Narrative Writing.

The worth of Dr. Blackburn's scholarly writing is solid and enduring. The edition of Conrad letters remains a contribution of major importance (one reviewer remarked on the "tact, the precision, the fine understanding" which characterize the work). And in 1968—the year before Dr. Blackburn's retirement—the editor of a new edition of Matthew Arnold's *Literature and Dogma* acknowledged his great indebtedness to Blackburn's pioneering researches.

But to four decades of Duke undergraduates it is as a teacher that he will be remembered. During his years at Duke he achieved a local fame of formidable proportions; and the reputation of his course in Narrative Writing extended beyond Duke. In the early 1960s the growing popularity in American colleges of courses in creative writing was the subject of a somewhat skeptical editorial in the *Times Literary Supplement*. "Surely," the editorialist commented, "there are few teachers with the critical acumen and charisma which make this job feasible. William Blackburn of Duke University is such a man, and his protégés all proclaim great indebtedness to his guidance." The books of some of these protégés form a substantial part of the Blackburn Collection, housed in Perkins Library. Other witnesses of Dr. Blackburn's influence are the scholarship

fund established in his name in 1962, and the annual William Blackburn Literary Festival organized by a more recent generation of former students.

This remarkable man has left the University a rich legacy through his lifelong dedication to letters and teaching. Alumni and friends of Duke are in his debt.

—Oliver W. Ferguson

IN MEMORIAM

William Baskerville Hamilton died of a heart attack on July 17, 1972.

He was a teacher, a writer, and an editor whose high standards of scholarship were sustained and strengthened by his fourth vocation: he was also a patron of libraries, both at home and abroad.

Professor Hamilton began his distinguished career in the Duke University History Department in 1936. From the beginning he was deeply interested in the Library. In 1938 he became affiliated with The Friends of Duke University Library, and by 1946 both he and his wife were Life Members. Articulate and discerning, he was periodically appointed to the executive committee.

His gifts to the Library were varied and sometimes unique.

During his thirty-six years at Duke, Professor Hamilton was active in many areas; endowed with a strong sense of history, he saved all University reports and directives and all contributions to the numerous committees on which he served. These items are today an invaluable part of the Duke archives.

Possibly his greatest achievement was the establishment of the William B. Hamilton Fund, the primary purpose of which is the acquisition of British historical manuscripts. Many of the papers already in the collection Professor Hamilton himself selected.

Library Notes and related publications benefited by his ability to write lucidly and informatively. One of his noteworthy articles is "British Historical Materials," which appeared in *Gnomon: Essays for the Dedication of the William R. Perkins Library*, April 15 and 16, 1970. Appropriately, the February 1971 issue of *Library Notes* was dedicated to him.

As his life drew near its end, Professor Hamilton suffered from nagging illnesses and was usually in physical discomfort; but his love of the Library never wavered, and his efforts in its behalf never ceased. A project that was "crowned with fruition" on his last day was one that he had furthered. While he was chairman of the African Studies Committee

of the Commonwealth Studies Center, he had procured the financial assistance necessary for the printing of the list of African serials available in the Duke University Library. That list was ready for the bindery only a few hours before its benefactor's final attack.

In the death of William Hamilton the Duke University Library has lost a warm friend and a loyal supporter. The extent and quality of his services to the institution he dearly loved were, indeed, so great that they cannot be completely determined.

—Esther Evans

The Friends of Duke University Library

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

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December 1973

Number 44

LIBRARY NOTES



DUKE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY • DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

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LIBRARY NOTES

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Paul I. Chestnut is assistant curator of manuscripts for reader services, Manuscript Department, William R. Perkins Library.

Robert F. Durden is professor of history, Duke University.

William S. Lamparter is vice-president and general sales manager of Century Furniture Company, Hickory, North Carolina, and chairman of the executive committee of The Friends of Duke University Library.

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The Honorable
Angier Biddle Duke

Public Life, Private Papers and the Right to Know

Angier Biddle Duke

Friends of the Duke University Library: I am truly appreciative of your invitation to be with you at this annual event. Besides my interest in sharing ideas with you, it does give me a chance to see more of my daughter Marilu, who is a freshman here this year. I am conscious of the honor of being your speaker; and I am aware of and sensitive to many of the contributions made to this Library by friends in this room.

Noteworthy are the papers of one of this University's most valued trustees that are entrusted to the archives at Duke. That she happens to be my own beloved cousin, the dynamic and brilliant Mary Semans, is of particular joy and satisfaction.

Now I don't know, and sometimes from ignorance comes courage; therefore, I feel bold enough to wonder if any portion of our University president's papers will find their way here. A man who has the potential to be the next president of the United States, Terry Sanford, will leave behind him fascinating traces of his greatness, which I pray will not go unrecorded in this Library.

On this occasion, too, I am touched by the presence of close personal friends who are drawn here by the interest

Address delivered at the annual meeting of The Friends of Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina. April 3, 1973.

we share in these archives. I note with pleasure one Friend of the Library, an old State Department colleague, Jay Rutherford, who has been working with Dr. Powell in initiating an audio-visual history program. With its position in the crosscurrents of our country's life, this great University owes to itself the mission of recording its contemporary historical experiences not only with the written word but also in all the dimensions of sight and sound. Olympian leaders in the academic, professional, and intellectual disciplines, Nobel laureates, statesmen such as the late George Allen, and now George McGhee and Ambassador Rush, as well as incumbent White House graduates, all might well contribute special insights in the revealing medium of an in-depth dialogue televised by and for the Duke University Library.

Mr. Rutherford has contributed ideas and some highly sophisticated electronic equipment as a pump primer for this project. Please count on me as an active supporter of it.

Oral history programs have also earned their place in such archives as we have here. Last summer I received a courteous letter from the archivist of the John F. Kennedy Library in Massachusetts requesting the right to declassify certain passages of the oral history that I had recorded early in 1964. He told me that some requests had come in from scholars and students for access to my material, and he wanted to know what my policy was to be. When the interview for the J.F.K. Library was taped, I signed a form-paper which, in effect, gave me the right to determine if or when and how it should be released. A full transcription was simultaneously made available for my collection in the Library here at Duke under the same terms.

As I read over the sections he had marked for suggested declassification, I could with all due self-criticism see its value. He had picked some of the more interesting highlights among my observations of the meetings between world leaders and President Kennedy. Some of my recorded recollections covered meetings at which I was the only other person present. The interview was conducted informally; and I did not consult official records, diaries, or classified information.

On this latter point, "the use of documents," as Dean

Acheson made clear, in describing the preparation of his book *Present at the Creation*, was for him "more important as a corrective to memory than as a supplement." His memory was "often very clear and at the same time mixed up, sometimes putting people at places and meetings at which they were not present or as taking positions taken by others. . . ." This illustrates a potential weakness of an oral program standing alone as the historical record.

Taking this into account, I decided to wait until I could check my subjective reminiscences in the J.F.K. collection against my other data in the files here at Duke, collate them, and flesh them out in the hope that they may shed a ray or two of light on the record of that time. Such a treatment might provide a footnote, or perhaps even a grace note, to the counter-revisionist history of the new frontier that will inexorably be written one day.

No such considerations surround my records and recollections of the H-bomb incident at Palomares in southern Spain in 1966. The blizzard of cables, messages, and memoranda that engulfed our embassy in Madrid, the Spanish government, the State and Defense Departments, and the White House as a result of that crisis are all distilled in my files here at Duke. When one atomic weapon fell from an American Strategic Airforce bomber and released plutonium on Spanish soil and another hydrogen bomb was for anxious months lost in the sea just off the coast, U.S. relations with Spain reached a turning point that will be examined with interest by historians and scholars of the future. It is my responsibility to decide the terms of access to the mass of material on it here.

Consequently, I have had to educate and reeducate myself on the complex problems of security and disclosure, freedom of information, and the technical aspects of classification. I am conscious of Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart's view that "secrecy can be preserved only when credibility is truly maintained." Its corollary was enunciated in *Classified Files: The Yellowing Pages*, of Carol M. Barker and Matthew H. Fox, to the effect that it is "through the archives of government that credibility and balance can be sought. Those archives are the target of the scholar, for if the past is to be any guide for the future, it must be an open past."

In that spirit then, I accepted your invitation to be here tonight; only recently have I gone into these questions in any depth. I have come to appreciate the fact that so much work in this field has been done that it would be presumptuous for me to attempt anything more than a layman's approach, outlining the subject's complexity and—when opportune—to voice my personal point of view.

Now I believe that you realize that this is a highly technical subject. I am not so confident in my ability to illuminate it in all its complexity that some of you may not take refuge in slumber. If you do, you have an understanding and sympathetic partisan in your speaker.

I have fallen asleep in the highest circles and particularly recall an incident during a presidential visit to Mexico. More than halfway through a magnificent state banquet of countless courses, numerous fine wines, interminable toasts, and numbing oratory, I took the occasion of the ceremonial address of the president of the Mexican Republic to get in a little shut-eye. The pleasant soporific drone of our host's voice was followed at last by a stillness in the room and I opened my eyes—to be congealed by the piercing look, the bemused, amused, and yet malevolent gaze of the president of the United States.

President Kennedy never referred to this directly, but he got full value out of it. When we got back to Washington, he called my office in midmorning one day expressing the hope that he was not disturbing my rest. In the White House he would drily refer to "Ambassador Duke, my tireless chief of protocol, who spends sleepless nights in the service of his government."

And so to the business at hand. First of all, the classified inventory of the federal government is a massive backlog of top secret, secret, and confidential information. For many reasons it stubbornly resists freeing up for general scrutiny, despite serious efforts by the Congress, federal executive departments, professional and public spirited organizations. Estimates of the bulk of materials range across the entire terrain of government.

Deputy Under Secretary of State William B. Macomber, Jr. has estimated that over a twenty-year period the State Department has accumulated two million classified documents, which grow at the rate of two hundred thousand a

year. He computes it would take \$300 million annually for ten years to review all foreign policy papers prior to 1971 for their possible declassification. During that ten years, by my simple arithmetic, there would be a fresh batch of two million classified documents.

State Department holdings shrivel beside those of the military. William G. Phillips, staff director for the House of Representatives Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee, has computed the Department of Defense inventory at about one million cubic feet of classified documents. A linear foot represents two thousand papers. The DOD classified hoard is, according to Mr. Phillips, the equivalent of eighteen stacks of documents the height of the Washington Monument.

When President Nixon asked the Congress in August 1971 for a general services administration supplementary appropriation to begin "an immediate and systematic effort" to declassify World War II documents of the 1940-45 period (that's twenty-eight to thirty-one years ago), he said they involved 49,000 cubic feet of paper records and 18,500 rolls of microfilm, held by the National Archives alone.

James E. O'Neill, deputy archivist of the United States, distinguished three kinds of restricted papers: those closed to the public by the particular federal agencies; those which are classified top secret, secret, or confidential under an Act of Congress or executive order issued by the president; and donor-restricted material of the sort most commonly found in the collections of papers in the presidential libraries. The libraries of Presidents Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson were all planned under the auspices of the National Archives.

The declassification problem affects many of these collections, so far as federal policies and practices go. It is interesting that the late President Johnson was awaiting the consummation of the Vietnam truce negotiations, about which President Nixon had briefed him, before asking Mr. Nixon to send a team to review the LBJ Library collection on Vietnam with a view to declassifying as much as possible. The papers to be examined embraced 471,000 papers in the Vietnam file and 481,500 in files dealing with Johnson administration policies toward other countries. Researchers at the Truman Library in Independence, Mo., still cannot

use some of the secret documents on which Mr. Truman based his memoirs, published in 1958. In this connection, H. G. Jones, director of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, has made the valuable proposal that all the official papers of a presidency be made public property like all other official papers, subject to the same security and declassification procedures.

Professor William F. Sheppard of Winston-Salem State University has written that the publication of the Pentagon Papers has brought about certain hopeful sequelae. He wrote that although "the methods used in that particular disclosure are debatable"—something of an understatement, since that would leave obedience to law up to the decision of anyone choosing to be civilly disobedient—"the incident has produced the benign result of opening the entire system of classification and declassification of documents to critical public examination." He went on to say that "the present indignation over revelations of abuses in the government's security system provides scholars with a unique opportunity to reverse this trend." On that point, I agree with Dr. Sheppard; but I have no intention of discussing other implications of the Daniel Ellsberg case except to make a plea for cool heads and a government information policy not subservient to the political passions, storms, and pressures of the moment. Today members of the peace movement and those who consider themselves to the left of center are condemning government secrecy and demanding access to policy-making files. I would remind them that in 1953, right-wing legislators, clamoring for disclosure of official secrets which they thought would reveal the failures of the Roosevelt and Truman foreign policies, passed enabling legislation to speed up the publication of the State Department's historical documents, "Foreign Relations of the United States." This was at a time when Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was inveighing against government officials "soft on communism" and threatening to open up their classified personnel files.

Harsh winds blow from the extremes of right and left; and the best guarantee for an even-handed government policy is one that recognizes the lessons of past errors and strikes a balance between obsessive secrecy and essential security. In that context President Nixon's words in intro-

ducing his new executive order seem appropriate: "Unfortunately the system of classification which has evolved in the United States has failed to meet the standards of an open democratic society, allowing too many papers to be classified for too long a time. The controls which have been imposed on classification authority have proved unworkable, and classification has frequently served to conceal bureaucratic mistakes or to prevent embarrassment to officials and administrations."

To be completely bipartisan, or preferably nonpartisan in my approach, let me quote Arthur Goldberg, United States ambassador to the United Nations during the Johnson administration, who testified at a congressional hearing in 1971 that of the thousands of classified documents he had originated or read "75 percent should never have been classified in the first place, another 15 percent outlived the need for secrecy and only about 10 percent genuinely required restricted access for any significant period of time." Perhaps even more astounding to me was President Truman's citation of a confidential Yale University study of censorship breaches which reported that 95 percent of all secret government information was being published by the press.

I should not have been so surprised by Ambassador Goldberg's testimony because I can recall press clippings from the Danish media being sent out of the political section of my embassy in Copenhagen to the Department of State bearing a "confidential" classification.

In an effort to cut the Gordian knot and come to grips with the heart of government policy, I got in touch with John L. D. Eisenhower who, after his service as our ambassador to Belgium, was appointed chairman of the Interagency Classification Review Committee by President Nixon. On February 9th he wrote me a three-page letter (with several enclosures) which is fascinating and which in its complete form has been added to my papers here. For our purpose tonight let me quote the following passages:

Your letter of January 30 poses questions that could stimulate me to write a tome. . . .

To begin with, I would like to emphasize that the Interagency Classification Review Committee (ICRC) of which I am chairman, is really involved with only a small portion of the overall problems of secrecy in government.

We are not, for example, involved in downgrading of classified documents less than ten years old or over which the departments (agencies) have turned down. . . .

In approaching these tasks the Committee put first priority on enforcing the new rules, designed to place responsibility on an individual for classifying. We have successfully reduced the number of people with such authority. This phase of the whole exercise has, I am convinced, had a very definite dampening effect on the classification habit (as I have learned from my various friends in both the state and defense departments). . . .

Immediately after Executive Order 11652 was issued, the various departments, principally state, found themselves bombarded by massive requests from the *New York Times*, Associated Press, and others. These requests ignored the principle of "particularity." In other words, instead of asking for a memorandum of conference between two individuals on a given date and on a specific subject, they fell more into the category of "give us all your papers on the Guatemala incident of 1954." One request was particularly ridiculous: "give us all the papers of Clark Clifford when he was counsel to President Truman." These unreasonable requests, of course, cannot be complied with. . . .

In short, I think I can say that the work load for dealing with requests from individual scholars is not excessive: but these massive levies by large publications, which smack of harassment, cannot be dealt with to the satisfaction of the media.

The vast bulk of requests for downgrading of classified documents are handled favourably within the departments (and) are taken care of in about a month.

The Executive Order and the departmental implementation instructions have without a doubt reduced the number of documents unavailable to scholars. The ICRC has been successful, I believe, in putting the heat on the departments to act, and they are finding it less painful to declassify than they thought. We are still in the educational phase within the executive branch: and while I am satisfied with our progress in changing the attitude of the departments, I expect more. . . .

As you may have concluded, the declassification prob-

lem is extremely complicated and will take a long time to solve. Generally, I would expect that despite the Executive Order the number of classified documents in the hands of the government will continue to increase (although hopefully at a far slower rate) until June 1, 1977, when the first massive declassification of presently confidential material will occur. If we can keep the archivist busy declassifying more documents during a given two years than the bureaucrats are putting in the "exempt" category, the pyramid will eventually be dismantled. I decline to predict, in view of the volume, when this will happen.

I am deeply grateful to Ambassador Eisenhower for his illuminating comment and gratified to be able to share it with you this evening.

Excesses of the security system vary from the outrageous to the absurd. One serious instance brought before the subcommittee hearings chaired by Rep. William S. Moorhead in the summer of 1971 concerned the army's refusal to release the file on Operation Keelhaul. Julius Epstein, a research historian on the staff of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University, has tried for many years to see this file. It concerns the return to the Soviet Union of large numbers—Mr. Epstein states the total probably exceeds two million—of former Soviet soldiers who had first become prisoners of the Germans, and then of the Americans and British but who did not want to go back. Following passage of the Freedom of Information Act by Congress in 1967, Epstein brought suit against Secretary of the Army Robert Resor in the Federal District Court of San Francisco. That court ruled for the army in February 1969. The U.S. Supreme Court denied a writ of *certiorari*. The White House wrote Mr. Epstein what the army's reasons were: a majority of the documents originated in 1946 and 1947 in a joint U.S.-British command; U.S. agencies said the file could be declassified, subject to the concurrence of the British government; the British refused to concur because they had not yet completed declassifying World War II documents.

Mr. Epstein guesses that at least seventy-five percent of the papers are American and asked that they be released. When he appealed to the British prime minister, our State

Department told him that because of the British rules England will not give its permission until 1977, thirty and thirty-one years after the event.

Mr. Epstein told the Moorhead subcommittee of another scholar's frustration. In 1904 a Harvard professor asked our War Department for British maps of the eastern seaboard dating from 1666, but was told the maps—more than two centuries old—were “privileged and cannot be released.”

William G. Florence, a retired security classification policy expert for the U.S. Air Force and Department of Defense, told the Moorhead subcommittee that the disclosure of at least 99½ percent of the twenty million classified DOD documents “could not be prejudicial to the defense interests of the nation.” Needless classification costs us, the taxpayers, fifty million dollars per year, and hundreds of thousands of officials “practice classification as a way of life.” He told how one service chief of staff wrote a memo stating briefly that too many papers were being circulated with the “top secret” classification and proposed these be reduced. The note itself was marked “top secret.” One major problem, Mr. Florence said, is that there is a total lack of incentive to limit classification to matters truly affecting the national interest.

If Mr. Florence is right about the 99½ percent of the documents which should not be classified, what about the one half of one per cent whose secrecy would be vital? Norman Dorsen, the New York University School of Law professor and general counsel to the American Civil Liberties Union, specified that there should be two such groups.

First, there would be material protected by criminal sanctions—material which if made public could create an immediate danger to military operations and could be of no value in permitting citizens to render informed judgment on public issues. In his opinion this group should only concern present and future tactical military operations, blueprints and designs of advanced military equipment, and secret codes.

A second category could be protected by the government from disclosure only through administrative sanctions such as firing the employee. It should be, says Professor Dorsen, limited to data on the private lives of particular individuals where there should be a right to privacy; and information

on current diplomatic negotiations, crisis deliberations, or covert objectives.

Except for these two groupings, he is convinced there should be absolutely no restrictions on what the public has a right to know. He believes that even in the first category no information should be kept secret if it can be of value to permit citizens to render informed judgment on public issues. He gives as examples plans for the landing at the Bay of Pigs, the facts surrounding the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, and the American invasion of Laos and Cambodia. He doesn't propose that information be published on what beach a landing would be made, but would permit discussion on policy—whether to invade Cuba or Cambodia.

In principle, our government has passed laws and issued presidential directives in favor of declassifying material. In practice, there is a paradox: the backlog of papers withheld from the public continues to grow, and yet persons who have enjoyed high office ignore the restrictions with impunity. And, in fairness, there has been a certain amount of birth control, cutting down the number of agencies which can squirrel away documents.

Because of President Eisenhower's Executive Order 10501, issued in 1953, amendments directed by President Kennedy, and President Nixon's March 1972 Executive Order 11652 after the Pentagon Papers went public, thirty fewer federal agencies may lawfully classify papers. Now the Migratory Bird Commission, the International Boundary Commission, and the Battle Monuments Commission are not adding to warehouses of files under the triple locks. Still, in the Department of Defense alone 800 officials can mark a document "top secret." Almost 8,000 can label it "secret," and any of 30,000 employees can put a "confidential" seal to government paper.

President Nixon's order has a general declassification schedule. "Top secret" gets automatically downgraded to "secret" at the end of the second full calendar year after it originated, downgraded to "confidential" at the end of the fourth year, and declassified at the end of the tenth full year. *Catch 22* is a schedule of exemptions requiring mandatory review. All classified material is automatically declassified at the end of thirty years, except for information specifically identified at the written request of the head

of the originating department, stating that continued protection is essential to the national security or that disclosure would put a person in immediate jeopardy.

As a practical matter, rank has had and will continue to have its privileges. Churchill and General Maxwell Taylor published what they chose to divulge. So has Prime Minister Harold Wilson, despite Britain's fifty-year limit under the Official Secrets Act. When President Eisenhower chose Robert J. Donovan to help him write his book, *Eisenhower: The Inside Story*, the full minutes of cabinet meetings were put at the journalist's disposal. When the book came out in 1956, it had candid comments of cabinet members. There was indignation in Congress that a writer had been allowed to see records of a kind the Congress had often been denied.

I am indebted for an interesting perspective to Herman Kahn of Yale, who was the first director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park. In his article, "Who shall have access?" in the March 1972 *Yale Alumni Magazine*, Dr. Kahn highlights the duty of the archivist or librarian to protect the privacy of the people who have written letters to eminent and influential public figures, never dreaming that within a few years their letters would be placed in a library where scholars would wish to use them for historical research. . . .

The problem is complicated by the fact that when a public person gives his papers to a library, he may declare that all or most of his own letters and writings may be examined by scholars. But he has not received such permission—nor is it physically possible for him to obtain it—from the thousands of people who have written to him and whose letters are among the papers. . . .

One technique is to allow the donor of the papers (or his heirs or executors) to decide who shall be permitted to use the papers. . . . Another method, now in use, which is effective and expensive, is to read all the papers individually in advance of their release and to remove for varying periods of time, depending on the circumstances, letters that might be embarrassing or damaging. . . . Letters dealing with personal, family, and financial affairs, though they may in due time be examined by scholars, might be protected from the eyes of strangers for many years.

There is a difference between reading letters dealing

with the marital and financial problems of Alexander Hamilton, and similar papers of a member of a cabinet of President Kennedy or President Johnson. Closely related to the archivist's obligation to prevent malicious misuse of private letters is his duty to encourage the preservation of papers and their eventful deposit in a library. The long-term interests of scholarship are not served by early disclosure . . . announced to the accompaniment of great blasts of publicity.

I am personally interested in two possibilities: (1) what may I legally and ethically do, should I choose to write on my varied experience in public office—or any particular phase of it—and (2) what precautions, if any, should I exercise to see that there is not harmful misuse of materials deposited at my initiative here at Duke.

My attorneys advise that Section 12 (ii) of President Nixon's executive order appears to acknowledge a proprietary interest in government papers which former officials originated, reviewed, signed, or received while in public office. It does not give him the right to possess such information. It specifically requires the head of the originating department to insure that the classified material is not "published or otherwise compromised."

And yet, if the department head (in my case the Secretary of State, presumably) does not carry out his responsibility over classified information in his department's possession, or if despite such controls such papers come into my possession, my lawyers state "there is no statutory remedy for the retrieval of such documents unless probable irreparable harm to the national security is established."

After search of statutes and rulings, the advice given me is that "the statutory scheme relies on the moral conscience of the officials of the government to insure the proper deposit of historically meaningful papers in some appropriate place, be it the National Archives or a library, without determining the line between government property and the personal property of government officials. Even the occasional use by former officials of government documents for private gain in memoirs or other publications seems to be tolerated as a 'proper' depository of such papers."

Therefore, so far as my own small corner of all this is concerned, I feel free to draw on the data I have deposited in

the Library at Duke for whatever public record I may eventually wish to make of it. At that point all material consulted will be made available to whoever is interested in it. On everything else I have made a proviso: For the present, scholars may consult particular papers only after obtaining my permission. I claim the right to privacy, however, for letters written to me in confidence; and I will continue to be the judge of when and if they are to be released.

A month or so ago two letters written to me by John F. Kennedy and Mike Mansfield came up for auction in New York City without my permission. They had a certain related interest because they dealt with involvement in Viet Nam as far back as 1956. I am curious as to how they came into the possession of the auctioneer, and can only surmise that he purchased the files of one of the public organizations on whose behalf I was corresponding at the time. He has obligingly furnished photographs of this correspondence for the Library here; but this incident has taught me to hang on to my letters in such files a bit more possessively.

The right to know does not, in my opinion, extend to records of contemporary personal family and financial affairs, although very full memorabilia on all this have been and will continue to be deposited in my collection at Duke. I agree with Dr. Kahn that such papers should be protected until such time as they may be examined by scholars under circumstances which the donor deems to be appropriate.

I also believe that there are certain refinements in the security system which could be put into effect expeditiously to help meet the demands of the right to know as well as to cut down on useless backlogging. For example, it would not require a major revision of the executive order to empower an officer authorized to originate a privileged communication to set his own date for its declassification if he determined that it could be earlier than the automatic time limit now in force.

Furthermore, I would expect to see before long a central and comprehensive system of making available lists of documents which are being released from classification. Such notification, including data now in the presidential libraries, would serve to alert trained observers for fresh material as it becomes available.

Most important is the need to regularize the obvious re-

lationship of information abruptly disclosed by public figures to the source material. The fact that such disclosures are countenanced by custom and convention should render the documents from which they are drawn immediately declassified by law. I have cited presidential memoirs in this context. Let me also give as an example: Col. Henry L. Stimson's book *On Active Service in Peace and War*, written in collaboration with McGeorge Bundy, in which he gives the text of a letter to President Roosevelt headed "Personal and Secret." This argued against the North African invasion, lest it dilute resources and delay a cross-channel expedition into occupied France. The letter is dated June 19, 1942. The book was copyrighted in 1947 and 1948—only five and six years later. We can be sure there was no national danger as a result.

Colonel Stimson pulled no punches in telling how he differed on specific questions with presidents and cabinet members, and yet he imposed certain restraints on his biographer. After referring to the long and close friendship between Stimson and Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, for example, McGeorge Bundy wrote, "It is not fitting that the activities of a justice still serving on the court be discussed in detail, and Mr. Justice Frankfurter will not be mentioned again: there was in his friendship with Stimson nothing, of course, that even remotely touched on his duties as a justice while there was much that added to the country's debt to a distinguished American."

Many ambassadors have informed us usefully in memorable books drawing upon previously secret information. John Kenneth Galbraith's *Ambassador's Diary* quotes at length from classified letters he wrote President Kennedy. On occasions we find strong feelings on the part of some diplomats about the confidentiality of their messages. Just a year ago Edward Weintal, the former Polish diplomat and *Newsweek* diplomatic correspondent, died in Washington. *The Washington Post* obituary told about a debate Weintal, then seventy years old, had at a dinner party with Averell Harriman, then seventy-nine. To prove a point, Weintal cited the content of a 1944 cable Harriman had sent when he was in Moscow to President Roosevelt. Weintal had been writing his own memoirs and found the cable in the National Archives. According to Washington

columnist Maxine Cheshire, Harriman was outraged, waved his fist, and said, "If you print anything like that in your book, I'll break your jaw."

The best statement I know describing the difficulties scholars encounter when they try to gain access to public records is the 1972 report of the Twentieth Century Fund, whose authors, the aforementioned Carol Barker and Matthew Fox, point out that only in special cases can "outsiders" see State Department files sooner than twenty-six years after the events they record. They find President Nixon's executive order's provision for review of classification decisions "most disappointing."

That order extends a privilege to former senior officers. They can examine records of their official activities for writing their memoirs or explaining their actions while in office. I am a beneficiary of this "old boy rule," which the State Department established to encourage former officers to leave their papers with the department and to have access to them there.

Barker and Fox say that scholars requesting classified papers must specify each document they want with "specific particularity to enable the department to identify it." And that this is not how a historian does his best work. "He needs to leaf through files examining the whole documentary record pertaining to the events he is studying," they explain. "Who, except those on the inside, will know about the existence of specific classified documents?"

Barker and Fox show how the system actually works. Each department and agency involved in foreign policy and defense has established its own procedures for making its records accessible: "Clearance requirements for individuals and subsequent review of notes and manuscripts make research at best inconvenient. Access is further—even critically—limited by the fact that officials enjoy a large degree of discretion in the application of declassification and access rules. This discretion can lead to an over-cautious interpretation of rules and makes possible unequal treatment of individual researchers, which in turn invites distrust between scholars and archivists." It takes about three weeks to get clearance from the Navy History Office, sixty to ninety days from the army.

They tell how before World War II the central State De-

partment files held “virtually all the records of American foreign policy” but “today, the State Department has lost its primacy to the White House, and the Pentagon, and numerous other agencies contribute to foreign policy or manage programs abroad.” This recalls to me the differences between Defense and State Departments in determining the substance of foreign policy during my work in Spain between March 1965 and April 1968. I hope that the records of those days from all sides—the military, State Department, and my personal papers—will be examined to illuminate fairly all the facts. Such a study could help determine future policy and how policy is made.

As the memoirs of generals, statesmen, and presidents, illuminating but inevitably one-sided, pour from the presses, it is the scholar-historian who must set the record straight and keep history in perspective. To do this, he needs facts, all the facts—or at least as many as can possibly be revealed. To depositories like Duke, therefore, falls the responsibility to serve present and future generations. When the definitive story of the Spanish bases negotiations or the lost bomb of Palomares is written, the papers here will add their insights to balance the Pentagon files. And for this I am thankful to the Library of this great University.



Montrose Jonas Moses

A Tribute to Montrose Jonas Moses

Paul I. Chestnut

It was indeed a fortunate day for Duke University when the widow and children of Montrose Jonas Moses offered the William R. Perkins Library both the personal papers and library of this noted scholar. Accepted with pride and gratitude, the Montrose Jonas Moses Papers are now open for research in the Manuscript Department; a bookplate denotes the printed materials as part of the Moses library. This gift has great merit not only as a comprehensive source for research but also as a perpetual memorial.

Montrose Moses had taken such an interest in his collection that the disposition of the materials necessitated careful consideration. His concern for the collection as one essential to his work as well as one representative of his personal association with many eminent authors had resulted in an intimate identification of the man with his library. In fact, Mrs. Moses recalled in an interview with a Durham newspaper reporter that she, not the family servants, had kept the books dusted and properly located on the shelves, lest a disinterested maid misplace a volume her husband might need for research—a possibility that could not be tolerated. Considering the sheer bulk of the library, one can sympathize with Mrs. Moses and her house-

hold responsibility; yet, remembering the great variety of topics upon which Mr. Moses wrote and the meticulous attention he paid to detail, one can understand the importance of his having an extensive and well-organized library. After his death in 1934, his heirs rejected several offers from major universities wishing to purchase the collection. Thirty-seven years later, however, Mrs. Moses and her sons, Lawrence S. Moses, of Camillus, New York, and Dr. Montrose James Moses, a professor of anatomy at Duke University, decided to give the papers and printed materials to Duke. Both the University and Mr. Moses have been honored by this tribute to his memory.

The son of Montefiore and Rose (Jonas) Moses, Montrose Jonas Moses was born in 1878 in New York, but spent his childhood in Montgomery, Alabama, where his family had its roots. He returned to New York to attend the College of the City of New York. His career as a critic and journalist began soon after he received his degree in 1899. From 1900 to 1919, he served as drama critic for a number of periodicals. In order to devote more time to editing critical anthologies of European and American plays, Moses reduced his association with these journals to that of a free-lance contributor after 1919. Though his larger works are devoted principally to the history of drama as an art form and a literary type, his articles more often concerned the contemporary stage. Fortunately, his interests were not confined to the theater; and his writing ranged from a newspaper series on the history of baseball to articles on the costs of education and medical care in the United States. His interviews with actors, novelists, and playwrights were popular fare in the newspapers, and his numerous articles on children's literature attracted the attention of parents, teachers, and librarians. The summers that he and his family spent in Connecticut provided him with subjects for articles on the joys of country living.

Among his major works are *Plays by Clyde Fitch*, edited with Virginia Gerson (4 volumes, 1915); *Representative American Dramatists* (3 volumes, 1918-1925); *Representative British Dramas: Victorian and Modern* (1918, 1931); *Representative Continental Dramas: Revolutionary and Transitional* (1924); *Representative American Dramas: National and Local* (1925; third edition, 1941); *Dramas of*

Modernism and their Forerunners (1931, 1941); *The American Dramatist* (1911, 1925); biographies of Edwin Forrest, Heinrich Conried, and Henrik Ibsen; anthologies of plays for children; *The Literature of the South* (1910); *The American Theatre as Seen by Its Critics, 1752-1934*, edited with John Mason Brown (1934); and edited versions of *Everyman* (1903, 1908) and *The Passion Play of Oberammergau* (1909, 1930, 1934).

The manuscript materials included in the Moses gift number 408 manuscript volumes and over twenty-two thousand items. The correspondence covers the wide variety of Moses's professional and personal interests. Since he kept carbon copies of most of his letters, the presence of both incoming and outgoing correspondence enables the researcher to study an outstanding source of information on the individuals and topics involved.

Letters from the representatives of his principal publishers relate not only to the books which he himself was preparing for publication but also to the manuscripts which he, as a reader, evaluated for Little, Brown and Company and the Thomas Y. Crowell Company. Copies of his comments and the correspondence about both these manuscripts and his own works provide a thorough discussion of the development of the publishing industry and of dramatic literature during the first third of the twentieth century. Letters concerning permission to include certain plays in his anthologies reflect the views of several leading playwrights, such as Padraic Colum, Clyde Fitch, Henry Arthur Jones, Percy Mackaye, Eugene O'Neill, and Elmer Rice. His lengthy correspondence with Frederick Koch of the Carolina Playmakers in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, shows his interest in developing regional drama centers in areas beyond the reaches of the New York theaters. Letters from the husband-and-wife team of Charles Rann Kennedy and Edith Wynne Matthison, intimate friends of the Moses family, reveal information on their acting and writing careers; while the letters from Abbie Farwell Brown and Kate Douglas Wiggin are sources for the study of children's literature. Other prominent correspondents included in the collection are David Belasco, Richard Eugene Burton, Theodore Dreiser, Hamlin Garland, Archibald Henderson, William Lyon Phelps, and Percival Wilde.



Montrose Moses and Henrik Ibsen
Cartoon ordered by
Alexander Harvey, Editor
of *The Bang*,
official organ of The Vagabond Club,
November 1908

Moses was an active member of the Authors Club in New York and of the local and national drama leagues. Correspondence, financial records, minutes of meetings, and printed reports abound in the collection and contain a wealth of information on the internal affairs of these organizations.

Numerous photographs included among the papers are in themselves a pictorial history of the American theater. Many are of stage settings, notably some that were used in performances of plays by Maurice Maeterlinck and George Bernard Shaw. Many others are of such stage personalities as the Barrymores, Helen Hayes, and Otis Skinner as they appeared in particular roles. An especially fine photograph of Eugene O'Neill displayed in a recent exhibit of items from the Moses Collection attracted much attention. A group of photographs of camp life at military bases during World War I was acquired by Moses for an article on entertainment provided by civilians for the American troops at home and abroad. Theater programs dating from 1837 to 1941 enhance the value of the papers.

In addition to the drafts of the writer's own works, the Moses Papers contain manuscripts of several plays by Charles Rann Kennedy and Clyde Fitch—the former given to him by his friend and the latter collected as source materials for his work on Fitch. Moses assisted Margaret Anglin, Ethel Barrymore, and Billie Burke in writing serialized biographies. His drafts, corrected by them, are also among the papers.

Several scrapbooks found in the collection are remarkably well preserved. Compiled principally as research tools rather than as hobbyists' delights, they contain clippings, pamphlets, and other ephemeral material related to the topics about which Moses wrote. One nicely bound volume is devoted exclusively to Sarah Bernhardt and includes clippings and pictures from a number of European and American publications printed during her career. Another was compiled by Mrs. Thomas Jonathan ("Stonewall") Jackson and sent by her to Moses to assist him in writing an article on her husband. Letters from Robert E. Lee, J. E. B. Stuart, and other southern leaders comment on Jackson's career and his untimely death.

The more than three thousand printed works collected by Moses also reflect the breadth of his personal and pro-

fessional interests. As a critic, he received many first editions as complimentary copies sent by their publishers for review or by their authors in appreciation of Moses's stature in the theatrical world. Charles Rann Kennedy and David Belasco inscribed many of their works with messages recognizing their close association with Moses. Theodore Dreiser sent him an autographed copy of *The Financier*. Among the works of Frederick Koch is an autographed copy of *The Book of Shakespeare the Playmaker*. Eleanor Gates, in gratitude for her relationship to the Moses family during a particularly trying period in her life, autographed for them a copy of her play, *The Poor Little Rich Girl*. Rabindranath Tagore was the subject of an article by Moses, and his writings are represented by a number of the titles in his large corpus, including *The Message of India to Japan*, a lecture delivered at the Imperial University of Tokyo, which is inscribed by the Indian poet. W. Graham Robertson's autobiography, *Life Was Worth Living*, is adorned with a pen and ink sketch drawn by this noted English illustrator and author of books for children. Other inscribed volumes include works by Fulton Oursler, George Middleton, Lynn Riggs, and Anne Crawford Flexner.

Books that appealed to Moses because of their scarcity as well as their research value form an important part of his library. *The Plays of Philip Massinger, Adapted for Family Reading, and the Use of Young Persons, by the Omission of Objectionable Passages* (3 volumes, London, 1830-1831) may perhaps have aroused mixed feelings in Moses, who opposed the extremes of censorship and artistic license. *Wemyss's Chronology of the American Stage, from 1752 to 1852* by Francis C. Wemyss (New York, 1852) was no doubt one of the volumes closest to his desk. Other early imprints added as first copies in the Perkins Library include *The Works of the Celebrated Mrs. Centlivre* (3 volumes, London, 1760-1761); *Theatrical Biography: Or, Memoirs of the Principal Performers of the Three Theatres Royal* (2 volumes, London, 1772); Samuel Whyte, *A Collection of Poems, on Various Subjects, Including the Theatre: A Didactic Essay* (second edition revised, Dublin, 1792); *Memoirs of Charles Macklin, Comedian* (London, 1804); and James Rees, *The Dramatic Authors of America* (Philadelphia, 1845).

Biographies and autobiographies of actors and playwrights are especially numerous. George Arliss presented Moses with copy number one of the limited, autographed edition of *Up the Years From Bloomsbury: An Autobiography*. Also included are Lillah McCarthy's *Myself and My Friends, With an Aside by Bernard Shaw* and Clara Louise Kellogg's *Memoirs of an American Prima Donna*. Arnold Genthe's *Isadora Duncan: Twenty-Four Studies*, a pictorial treatment of this famous dancer, contains a foreword by Max Eastman.

Some of the most charming works are those written for children. Several reveal that Moses's collection was begun during his own childhood. Others were acquired later as part of his work on this type of literature. Among the pamphlets and serials are many bibliographies and monographs written principally by librarians and teachers interested in promoting the development of children's materials. Other pamphlets concern civilian and military affairs during World War I. Printed speeches and memorial tributes are also among the pamphlets. Harley Granville Granville-Barker sent Moses a signed copy of his speech delivered as the second annual Shakespeare Lecture before the British Academy in 1925.

Moses kept in his library many issues of journals to which he subscribed or for which he wrote. Several of the periodicals will complete the files of these titles in the libraries at Duke. Moses was dramatic editor of *The Bellman* from 1910 to 1919 and amassed an extensive collection of this magazine during these years. Files of *The Theatre* for the years 1904 through 1909 are complete. Volumes 1-7 of *The Carolina Play-Book*, published by the Carolina Playmakers, were sent to Moses by Frederick Koch.

The Moses gift came at an opportune time for the people served by the libraries at Duke University. The Duke community is showing an increasing interest in expanding its cultural opportunities, and the University's libraries have been called upon to provide source materials for research and to contribute to the development of individual taste in the areas of music, art, drama, dance, and film. A comparison of current University course offerings and the weekly calendars of events with those of years not too far in the past reveals the extent of this change. The intriguing photo-

graphs, the beautifully bound and scarce volumes, the unique correspondence, and the handsome scrapbooks of the Moses Collection thus have a utilitarian value in addition to their sentimental worth. The materials given by the Moses family will be a lasting tribute to the foresight of a notable scholar and writer who preserved his collection, and to the generosity and concern of his family who wanted others to have the opportunity to make use of the collection in the established tradition of scholarship and artistic interest.

“A Voyage of Exploration”
—and Purchasing:
Building the Duke Library’s
Holdings in British History

Robert F. Durden

The death of William B. Hamilton reminds us that, in his wholehearted dedication to strengthening the Library of Duke University, he was carrying on an outstanding tradition that went back to John S. Bassett and William K. Boyd, to name only two among a larger group of Trinity-Duke historians who have been zealous in their work for the Library. William T. Laprade, now in his sixty-fifth year at Trinity and Duke, also played a significant part in the library-building. On leave in England during 1926-27, a crucial time in the institution’s transition from college to university, Dr. Laprade wrote to President Few the following letter, which graphically demonstrates both our debt to him and to others like him, and the actual process of enlarging a college library into a major research collection:

October 26, 1926
34 Dorset Square
London N.W. 1, England

Dear Dr. Few,

I have waited until I had time to look around a little before writing you my further thoughts about purchasing the larger

items or materials on English history for the Library. The situation seems to be as follows: there are several of the needed sets that may be had now. In fact one dealer is holding one such set for a while at my suggestion until time is given for us to reach a decision. That particular set, which costs about a hundred pounds or a little more, may be got together again shortly if we let this slip, but it becomes increasingly difficult all the time to complete the set. As regards the more costly and numerous items, there is no possibility that we shall get what we want immediately. The only way we can ever get them is to make our wants known to a few of the dealers who have a good reputation and who will be on hand when the libraries of gentlemen are dispersed and will procure for us what we need. In some cases we can get parts of sets now to be completed at definite prices as the missing volumes come on the market. In other cases we shall have to wait until the whole set is offered.

As regards these basal sets of materials, the state of things has been revolutionized in the past decade. Nobody's experience previous to that time is worth anything now. There are at least a dozen of the newer American universities now in the market for some of the same things that we want. Some of them have already adopted the methods I have indicated and are gradually supplying their wants. A large percentage of the desirable items in any dealer's catalogue are snapped up as soon as it reaches the hands of one of these buyers. I have at hand as I write a catalogue issued this summer that contained many items I wanted, but at least half of the items in the catalogue were sold and crossed out before the catalogue came into my hands. In another case I was more fortunate. I happened to go into the store just as the catalogues were being mailed to America and so had first go at the new acquisitions. I spent, in consequence, the bulk of the five hundred dollars that Professor Flowers sent me at your suggestion for things that are vital for my work and many of which I have not yet been able to find elsewhere. The result will be the disappointment of those into whose hands those particular catalogues come.

Even these smaller items are becoming increasingly hard to get. You see the original supply of these goods was limited, and the number of customers since the war has multi-

plied many fold more than at any other time in recent times. The only salvation of the situation, making it possible to get these books at all, is the unfortunate financial situation of some of the gentry here. If you will look at some of the things in the case of books that I am having shipped, you will notice a variety of book plates, some of them of older family libraries. There is little possibility of better conditions; indeed, there seems to be every probability that it will become increasingly difficult to get the things we are almost obliged to have and that they will become increasingly expensive when we are able to get them. It is putting it conservatively to say that those obtainable now will cost twenty-five per cent more than they might have been had for five years ago from the same dealers, and the only way to stop them from going up is to stop American and other foreign universities (the dominions in particular) from buying. I am even more convinced than when I came here that economy and prudence dictate that we lose no more time in procuring whatever we can find in the market now that we need and in putting ourselves in line to get a chance at those items that are now not procurable and for which we shall have to wait until they are offered.

As regards the smaller items, I will send to Professor Flowers an account of my purchases with the first five hundred dollars in a little while. Meantime, I have found a number of further items which I shall take the liberty of getting also. I trust that I may soon be authorized to take up the matter of the larger sets, since some of the things in sight for the moment will not remain so long. I need not tell you that this material cannot be purchased at all but by one expert in the bibliography of English history.

The John Spencer Bassetts are here taking a year of leave. I also see other American scholars on the same adventure. My own work opens up fully as well as I expected and seems to promise interesting results. As you know, historical investigation is a sort of voyage of exploration; the outcome depends largely on the correctness of judgment with which the project is planned. So far I have not been disappointed in my preliminary guesses and have found things that had escaped other explorers in the same field.

I was glad to hear of the progress of the buildings and of

the other matters at the University. If I can be of further assistance please call on me.

Yours sincerely,
W. T. Laprade

Dr. Laprade's arguments did not go unheeded. Before his year in London ended, President Few authorized, despite the multiple demands on inadequate resources, the expenditure by Dr. Laprade of \$10,000 for the "basal sets" and other valuable works in British history.

A Letter from the Chairman of the Executive Committee

Dear Friends of the Duke University Library,

"And what," I was asked, following the Spring 1973 dinner of The Friends of the Library, "is your position at the University?"

"I have none," I replied. "I am in the furniture business."

"Good heavens!" exclaimed my questioner. "I thought you were a new member of the English department!"

This exchange is not atypical. Many within the University community, and outside, express amazement that a rather garden-variety businessman has the time, interest, and perhaps temerity to serve as the Friends chairman. Upon reflection, and even this evening as I write, my own amazement continues. In my two terms as your chairman I have received significant and increasing support from the various elements of the Duke community in this undertaking. Amazement, but support.

It is pleasant, indeed, to be identified, however mistakenly, as a member of the Duke English department. (One might add *manquè*.) Yet I am employed by a large and successful furniture manufacturing company in North Carolina and am content with and fulfilled by my place in that organization. Which brings me, perhaps circuitously, to a point: what is the meaning and what is the goal of the Friends in this academic year, and to what should we look forward, say, in any projected five-year plan?

This year, for the first time, we are introducing a new membership classification in The Friends of the Library. Students, undergraduate and graduate, will be actively encouraged to acknowledge their involvement in and concern for the welfare of our libraries by becoming Friends at a nominal five-dollar annual membership fee. We should normally hope that this initial commitment might extend into a student's alumnus lifetime. We actively seek student support of our organization.

We possess a significant cadre of Friends, some of whom have contributed substantially and in various ways to the

welfare of the libraries. (Sometime soon, in *Library Notes*, we shall set forth in some detail specifics of our various endowment funds as well as a summary analysis of our notable collections and holdings.) As we enter a new Epoch in the growth of Duke and, concomitantly, of its libraries as the core of University academic and community life, the organization of the Friends seeks conscientiously and assiduously to expand not alone its membership but its support base. We openly and gladly welcome our student members. As well, however, we solicit the support of the general University community.

"Of course I am a friend of the Library," I was told recently by a very distinguished Duke teacher, administrator, and citizen. "I borrow books there all of the time." Smilingly, and perhaps a bit hesitantly, she added, "But I seem not to be a member of the Friends." She should be. So, too, a Duke dean, who seems to be waiting for some kind of formal invitation to become a member. Membership in our organization is open to all those interested in the Duke Library—to students who are eligible by contributing five dollars yearly; to faculty, administration, staff, alumni, or the general public who are eligible by contributing fifteen dollars yearly. Life membership is awarded to those who contribute at least \$1,000 in cash or in kind in one specific year and upon nomination by the librarian.

We seek, then, upon entering into this new Epoch, wider support from those who are indebted to the Duke Library and who draw upon its resources. As well, we solicit the patronage of others who are concerned with fostering the growth of great and distinguished private universities and their research libraries as one of the hearths of scholarship, character formation, and continuing private enterprise. We look to those who see far beyond a five-year plan, or a fifty-year plan, for that matter, to the continued education of our young for their own benefit, the benefit of the nation's Southeast and of our Republic. In this context, we think not only of students and teachers, but also of the wider circle of our society including the sector of private enterprise. I am told that corporations with headquarters in the Research Triangle are more frequently making use of our library's facilities than before, and I am pleased to know that. While our association at Duke with the business and banking

sector has perhaps not been as intimate as has been the experience at Virginia and certainly at Harvard, through their long-established graduate schools of business administration, the growth and evolution of Duke's business school will, without question, foster such relationships. Stimulus will thereby be provided for further growth of the Duke Library in still another direction: catering to the needs of the business school as those needs are connected to the very practical aspects of business management. One might foresee, accordingly, still another classification of membership in The Friends of the Library—corporate memberships.

What we are attempting to accomplish, therefore, is to shape the Friends organization into a highly effective supportive force, contributing in wider ways to the support of the Library. We should hope always to retain the rather charming, highly personal, and intimate character of the Friends (perhaps as best expressed at and by the spring dinner meeting) and to make available that experience to an even wider attendance. We hope to accelerate our activities by regular and frequent publications of *Library Notes* and *Marginal Notes*. We visualize sponsorship by the Friends of public events, probably, but not exclusively, of a literary cast. For example, I should like, sometime, to speak at a Friends meeting about Cornish historiography—very possibly to an audience of none; on the other hand, how exciting it would be to listen to one or more experts speak about electronic data processing, information retrieval systems, and data banks as related or applied to the Duke Library. Too, we should hope, through direct fund and gift-raising activities, to continue to bring special collections to Duke which might not otherwise be obtainable from restricted or limited funds. We most assuredly should concern ourselves with strengthening our holdings in areas which support new or reemphasized disciplines at Duke. And, surely, while the present library staff must be voted accolades for its enthusiastic and hearty support, sometimes at some personal sacrifice, of the Friends organization, one can easily foresee the almost immediate need for a professionally-trained librarian whose sole responsibility at Duke would be the management—in the largest sense—of the Friends activities including, of course, publications.

Here, then, is a brief program for some of the present

and future activities of the Friends. I believe it is a practicable and highly feasible one. I hope you will agree. Feasible plans of a non-academician, it might be said. But, feasible.

Yours sincerely,
William S. Lamparter
Chairman

* * *

Jeffrey K. Haring, a Trinity College senior from Cranbury, New Jersey, has become the first person to enroll as a student member of The Friends of the Duke University Library. Mr. Haring is majoring in English and in history.

The Friends of Duke University Library
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1973

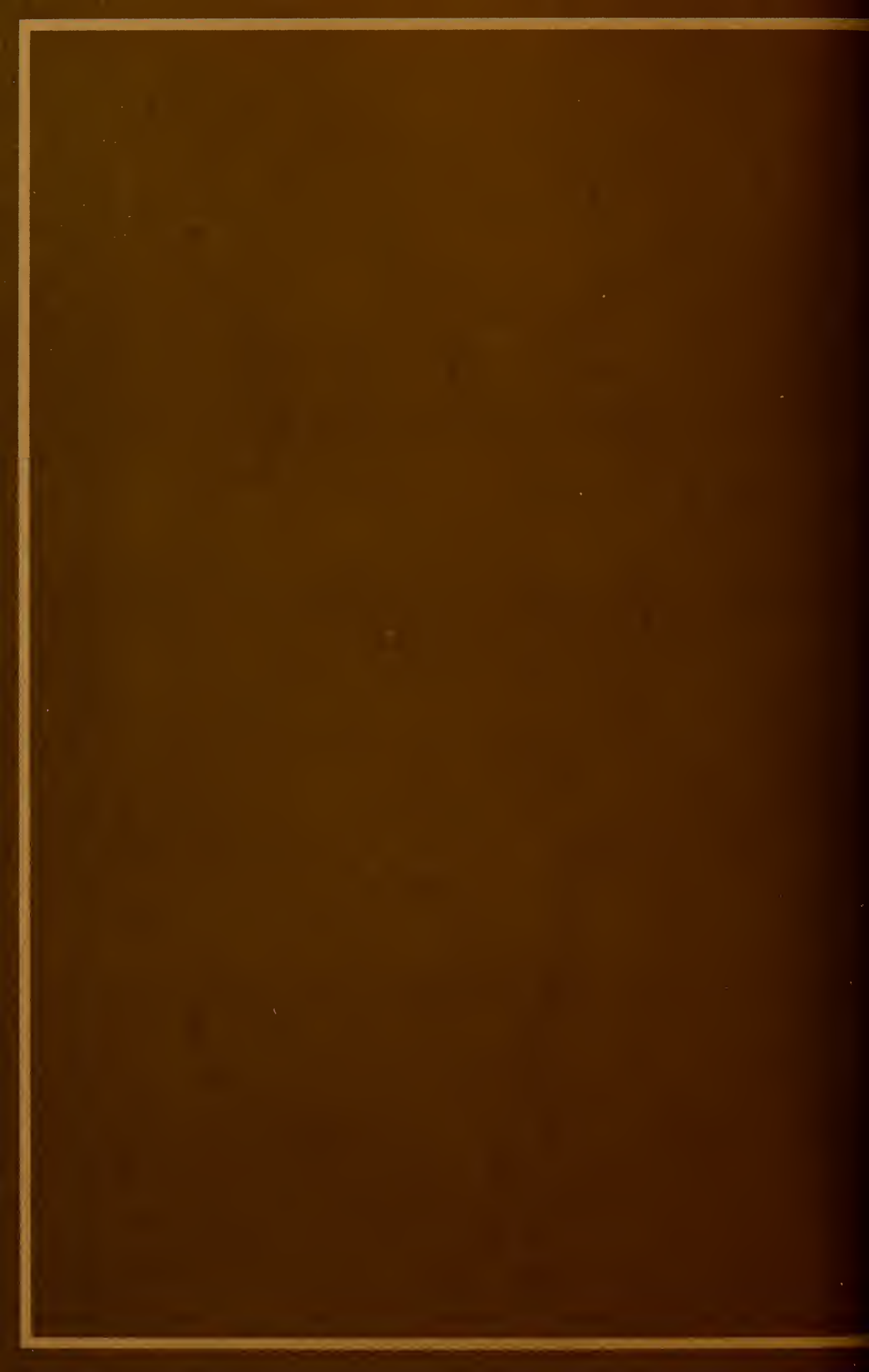
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The Friends of Duke University Library
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December 1974

Number 45

LIBRARY NOTES



DUKE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY • DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

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LIBRARY NOTES

December 1974

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Contributors

Elizabeth Simmons Chamberlain, a former member of the English Faculty at Meredith College (Raleigh, N. C.), is a student of Dr. C. Hugh Holman and a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in English at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Esther J. Evans is a former editor of *Library Notes*. She retired from the Technical Services Division of the William R. Perkins Library after twenty-six years of service. From 1957 she served as a member of the Editorial Committee for *Library Notes*.

John L. Sharpe III is Curator of Rare Books, William R. Perkins Library.

Raymond K. Whitley is a doctoral student in English at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

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A Tribute to Two Friends

Beautiful art, books, and manuscripts are the everyday companions of Mary and Harry L. Dalton. Part of the joy of collecting distinctive artistic creations is the pleasure not only of beholding them but also of sharing their beauty with those who appreciate art. The Daltons enjoy collecting and sharing.

An alumnus of Duke, Harry Dalton (Class of '16) has assisted in the development of the institution from its beginning as Trinity College to its present place of importance among the universities of this country. Among the many facets of his interest in Duke are books, which he regards as an important investment of a university. Rare books in particular increase the University's obligation to its scholars, and at the same time reflect the academic values of the scholarly community. Mr. Dalton has focused much of his attention on the development of a collection of rare books that is in keeping with the growing prestige of the University.

The results of Mr. Dalton's concern for the rare book collection at Duke are evident through the books, art, and the monetary contributions which he has made in establishing and augmenting several important collections. The Harry L. Dalton Room contains a portion of the library which he has brought together over the years. There are manuscripts, early printed books, art, and a large number of first editions. All of his contributions are exceptional and reflect the standard of excellence which he expects not only of himself but also of the University Library. While he has gathered these works and located them in the Rare Book Room, he wishes that they be available to the scholars who need them in their research, even as they would have been available while

they were in his possession. For him, collections of rare books are to be used.

In 1964 he and Mrs. Dalton presented a copy of Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum*, commonly known as the "Nürnberg Chronicle." Printed in Nürnberg in 1493 by Anton Koberger, it was Koberger's most sumptuous publication, containing about 1900 woodcuts—a wealth of iconographic and geographic information. Some of the woodcuts are ascribed to Michael Wohlgemuth, Dürer's teacher. The binding of the Duke copy is blind-stamped pigskin over wooden boards; one of the rolls has the initials "C. M.," an as yet unidentified German binder of the sixteenth century.

In 1969 when the University Library accessioned the 2,000,000th book, a 1476 edition of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, a gift of the late Thomas L. Perkins, Mr. Dalton contributed the Fourth Folio of Shakespeare's works, printed in 1685, as the 2,000,001st book.

In June 1970 a collection of first and early editions of Oscar Wilde was added to the Library's slight holdings of Wilde first editions. Of the some twenty-seven titles and nine periodical publications, several were signed by the author. Notable among the first editions are *Poems* (1881); *A House of Pomegranates* (1891); *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891; on large paper, signed by the author); *Salomé*—both the French edition of 1893 and the English edition illustrated by Aubrey Beardsley in 1894; *The Sphinx* (1894), in vellum boards designed by Charles Ricketts; *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* (1898; first edition, first issue); among other titles. In addition to The Newdigate Prize Poem *Ravenna* (1878), the collection comprises periodical numbers containing the first appearance of such offerings as "The New Helen"; "The Decay of Lying"; "Pen, Pencil, and Poison"; and "The Portrait of Mr. W. H."

Mr. Dalton has continued to add to the Wilde Collection, and recently he provided an item of exceptional importance in the Wilde canon—a unique copy of *The Duchess of Padua* (1883; privately printed as manuscript). According to Mason's *Bibliography* (no. 312), twenty copies were printed for use in the theatre of which four were known to have survived. One of the sur-

viving copies, containing the author's manuscript corrections from which Methuen's edition was printed in 1908, was presented by Robert Ross to the British Museum in 1910. The Dalton copy of *The Duchess* was used for the preparation of a stage performance, being heavily revised throughout, with many lines deleted. At the beginning of each act there are pencil sketches of the stage back-drops and lay-outs. On the verso of the title page there is a pencil draft of a letter to Mr. Beck referring to an agreement Wilde and his friend Edward Godwin were endeavoring to arrange to produce the play. It was not produced, however, until 1891, in New York, under the title "Guido Ferranti." Loosely inserted is a draft letter from Wilde to Beck, dated "Nov. 20, 1884," referring to the agreement. These draft letters, and the manuscript revision of the text are in the hand of Edward Godwin, the architect and theatrical designer, who set up house with Ellen Terry and was the father of Gordon and Edith Craig. Godwin also built the White House in Chelsea for his friend James A. McNeill Whistler, and drew up designs for the decoration of Wilde's house in Tite Street. This copy of *The Duchess of Padua* is in the original gray wrappers, preserved in a red morocco case with the arms of David Harrington Angus Douglas, the twelfth marquis of Queensberry, in gilt on the upper cover. The twelfth marquis of Queensberry is the grand-nephew of Lord Alfred Douglas, third son of John Sholto Douglas, ninth marquis of Queensberry.

In addition to such important contributions as the Wilde Collection, in 1972 Mr. Dalton enabled the Library to buy a silver plaque which appears to be a unique magical text in mixed Greek and Latin alphabets. The letter forms of both the Greek and the Latin are characteristic of the second century A.D. In addition to words and phrases associated with magical contexts, the inscriptions invoke the underworld goddesses Persphone and Hekaté. So far the full text has defied decipherment and interpretation, and no parallels have yet been found either for the character of the text or the precious metal on which it is incised.

In the spring of 1973 another gift from the library of Mary and Harry L. Dalton became a permanent part of

the impressive growing collection in the Dalton Room. The Dickens Collection comprises twenty-two titles; twelve are in the original parts, among which are *David Copperfield*, *Bleak House*, *Little Dorrit*, *Nicolas Nickleby*, *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*, and *A Tale of Two Cities*. In addition to the twenty-two titles is the original steel plate, "The Midshipman is boarded by the Enemy," by "Phiz" (Hablot K. Browne) for *Dombey and Son*. The gift of this collection brought near to completion the Library's list of Dickens first editions in the original parts.

Since 1932 the collecting of Greek and Latin manuscripts has been important in teaching and research in the Classics Department and the Divinity School. These important resources have not escaped the interest of Mr. Dalton. His interest in building an excellent collection of manuscripts and his generosity made it possible for the Library to acquire in 1966 a Latin humanistic manuscript of Pompeius Trogus, written on vellum in Italy in the fifteenth century, and more recently two Greek manuscripts of the Four Gospels.

Of singular importance is the Dalton Gospels (*Codex Daltonianus*). Written on 352 vellum leaves (29 x 22 cm.) in a beautiful minuscule hand ca. A.D. 1000, the manuscript contains not only the Four Gospels with extensive chapter lists but also a full complement of catenae for each Gospel. The list of chapters and numbers before each book is written in gold semi-uncials, and the title for each gospel is decorated with a headpiece in gold, red, green, and blue. The manuscript is protected in a fifteenth-century binding of dark brown morocco over wooden boards decorated with blind stamping and small bosses on the upper and lower covers. Such well-preserved manuscripts from so early a date are seldom seen in today's market. *Codex Daltonianus* became Duke University Greek MS. 60, on April 2, 1973, when Mr. Dalton presented the book in a ceremony in the Rare Book Room. The Friends chose the occasion to show their appreciation to the Daltons for their generosity and sense of excellence which have enriched the Library.

In September 1974 Mr. Dalton presented another

Four Gospel manuscript on vellum (Duke University Greek MS. 62). This later gift contained the Four Gospels without commentary. Of the original leaves of the codex only 215 remain, about forty-six having been lost in the past. Written in a dark brown ink ca. A.D. 1200, the manuscript is bound in wooden boards covered with red velvet. Neither this latest manuscript nor the *Codex Daltonianus* has been located in the Gregory, von Soden, or Aland lists of Greek New Testament manuscripts.

Books and manuscripts are not the only gifts from the Daltons. They presented the Rare Book Room with three works of art: two oil paintings and a watercolor. One of the oils "Carpets, Books, and Candle" is by the modern Dutch artist Jan H. Eversen. The other, called "Snow Flakes" is by John Leech, the humorous artist who contributed to *Punch* from 1841-1864. The watercolor is a fantasy on painters, pictures, and philistines by George Cruikshank.

Mr. Dalton has aimed for excellence in every aspect of his far ranging interests. His service to the Library—and the University—has been as diverse as his contributions. His gifts have included art, Greek and Latin manuscripts, an inscribed silver plaque, a room to house the Dalton Collection, first editions of Dickens and Wilde, early printed books, a Shakespeare folio, and money. Having been a Friend of the Library for a long time, he has served on the Executive Committee for two five-year terms. He has been chairman of that committee, urging and encouraging friends and alumni alike to support the Library. His great contribution to the Friends is his example of dedication—his consistent support—throughout his career. His generous support has made it possible for the University Library to advance particularly in areas where supplementary resources are essential. It is impossible today to build exceptional collections from a budget provided by the institution. But with Friends like Mary and Harry L. Dalton, the University Library can provide the exceptional resources required by an educational institution such as Duke.

—J.L.S.

Recd of Mr Lownds Two Pounds
 Towels shill 78 & shapene being his one half
 of a third payment of 5 guineas paid Mr
 J. Cleland on acct of a MS of two Vols
 12^{mo} April 24 1767.

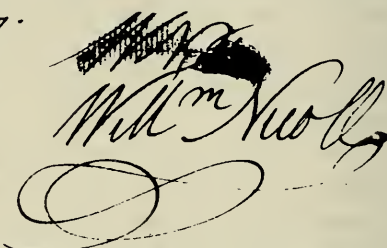
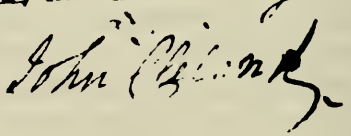


Figure 1. The Receipt.

London August 20 1767
 Two Months after Date I promise
 to pay to Mr. Thomas Lowndes or
 his order the sum of Twenty five
 Pounds for values received by me.



Oct 23 N.B. this is paid by his Delivering
 to me the Copy of Woman a
 Honour.

Figure 2. The Acknowledgement of Debt.

John Cleland and the Authorship of *The Woman of Honor*

Raymond K. Whitley

In the Perkins Library is a copy of the rare three-volume eighteenth-century novel *The Woman of Honor* (London: T. Lowndes, 1768). According to the available bibliographies, one other complete set is in the British Museum,¹ while in the Bodleian Library there languishes a Volume Two without its requisite companions.

Ironically, it was through the latter incomplete set that the work was "discovered" to modern scholarship. Edward S. Dodgson, a bibliophile and contributor to the *New Oxford Dictionary*, purchased it in the Welsh town of Aberystwyth and presented it to the Bodleian, along with an article, "Who wrote *The Woman of Honor*?", which appeared in the *Oxford Chronicle* for October 16, 1914. In the article Dodgson cites a number of expressions characteristic of Volume Two, among which are "prematured" (p. 12), "regulating captain" (p. 182), "sovereignty" (p. 214), "mutton-headed" (p. 187), "sheepmark" (p. 187), "overdress" (p. 3), "conformableness" (p. 203), "commutual" (p. 205), and "pre-acquainted" (p. 191). On the basis of these expressions he attributes the work to Mrs. Elizabeth Griffith,² though he admits a prior temptation to suggest Fanny Burney.

¹ British Museum, *General Catalogue of Printed Books*, C. 124 b. 4.

² According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Mrs. Griffith (1720-1793) is an authoress of plays and novels, among which is *The Story of Juliana Harley* (1776).

Dodgson could hardly have been more wrong. In fact, *The Woman of Honor* is the last novel of John Cleland, the maligned author of *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1749), popularly known as *Fanny Hill*. The Duke copy of *The Woman of Honor*, a recent acquisition, had been attributed to Cleland by the cataloguers for reasons that are no longer preserved; it is probable that the cataloguers noticed the tentative attribution of the book to him in the British Museum *General Catalogue of Printed Books*. The caution of the cataloguer in the British Museum was warranted since Cleland's authorship was by no means certain. Before the Duke catalogue card was published in the Library of Congress *National Union Catalog*, someone saw fit to pencil "supposed author" after Cleland's name. Andrew Block, in his *English Novel 1740-1850*³, hazards no attribution at all, preferring instead to identify the author as anonymous. Now, however, I believe I have accumulated sufficient evidence to authenticate Cleland's authorship.

In addition to the tentative British Museum attribution, the association of John Cleland with Thomas Lowndes, the bookseller and publisher, is at least plausible in 1763, since they had been joined in a previous venture. Three years earlier, Lowndes had published a piece of prose fiction by Cleland, *The Surprises of Love*, a collection of four short romances. The authorship of this latter work is, oddly enough, confirmed by the contemporary catalogue of Lowndes's publication bound into the first volume of *The Woman of Honor*. Furthermore, a search of the sparse biographical material on Cleland reveals that a novel called *The Man of Honor* was supposedly written by him "as an *amende honorable* for his former exceptional book."⁴ The title appears to be a misnomer or a printer's error since the only eighteenth-century *Man of Honor* in the bibliographies was published anonymously in 1747,⁵ about two years before the appearance of *Memoirs of a Woman of*

³ 2nd ed. (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1961), p. 255.

⁴ John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (London: for the author by Nichol, Son, and Bentley, 1812-15), II, 458 n.

⁵ Andrew Block, *The English Novel, 1740-1850: A Catalogue* (London: Grafton & Co., 1939), p. 158. Block believes that the 1747 work is only a translation of a French novel.

Pleasure. However, the description of the work makes more sense if it in fact does refer to *The Woman of Honor*.

Certain additional internal evidence also points to Cleland's pen. As in all his works, the syntax of *The Woman of Honor* is wordy and massively parallel, with sentences frequently swelling over a page in length when the author waxes rhetorical. Cleland has the habit of ending such outpourings with a summation beginning with the phrase "in short," and this construction characteristically closes the longest sentences of *The Woman of Honor* as well. Moreover, the moral excesses of horse racing, gambling, the stock market, and the government financial policy, which Cleland attacks in his earlier *Memoirs of a Coxcomb* and *The Surprises of Love*, come in for an even greater and more formal drubbing in the correspondence that comprises *The Woman of Honor*. A piece of conclusive external evidence is all that is needed to certify Cleland's authorship.

Happily, just such evidence has come to light. In response to my letter for material on Cleland, the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum provided a photocopy of what is described as a signed assignment of *The Woman of Honor*.⁶ The assignment consists of two small documents, a receipt and an acknowledgement of debt, from the papers of William Nicholl, Thomas Lowndes's partner.

The receipt (Figure 1), dated April 24, 1767, is signed by William Nicholl for Thomas Lowndes's payment of "Two Pounds Twelve Shillings & Sixpense being his one half of a Third payment of 5 Guineas paid Mr J Cleland on acct of a MS of two Vols 12^{mo}." From this statement it is apparent that Cleland was writing a book for Nicholl and Lowndes; that he was being paid in installments—probably to support him in the finest Grub-street tradition while he wrote; and that to date, he had received fifteen guineas for his labors.

The acknowledgement of debt (Figure 2), dated

⁶ Additional MS. 38728f.51. *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 1911-1915*, p. 681. The author wishes gratefully to acknowledge the coöperation of the British Museum in permitting the reproduction of the manuscript.

August 20, 1767, at London, is more interesting. The first part is an IOU, written and signed in the same slightly flamboyant hand in which Cleland addressed the Honourable Society of Antiquaries a year later when he presented them a copy of his etymological treatise, *The Way to Things by Words* (1766). In the IOU Cleland promised to pay Thomas Lowndes "Two Months after Date" a total of "Twenty five Pounds for value received by me." It would appear that Cleland's manuscript was by this time overdue, and Lowndes was looking for some security on the money he had already invested.

Cleland eventually fulfilled his obligation. On the bottom of this note is a sentence in a third hand, probably Lowndes's, dated October 23, which acknowledges the payment of Cleland's debt "by his Delivering to me the copy of Woman of Honor." This, then, was the manuscript on which Cleland had been working, and which appeared anonymously from Lowndes's press in the spring of the following year.

Absent from *The Woman of Honor* is the eroticism of *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, as it is from all Cleland's novels subsequent to the suppression of his first work in 1749-50. *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* was something new in its period, a sort of sexual picaresque; *Memoirs of a Coxcomb* has a similar flavor without explicit sexuality and with a greater amount of conventional sentimentality and social criticism. Unfortunately, in *The Surprises of Love* and *The Woman of Honor*, Cleland's sentimentality approaches cliché and his social criticism, the obtrusive—despite his facility with narrative and imagery. Yet, a shade of his old theme—the supreme pleasure of sexuality sanctified by affection and morality—still tinctures the events of *The Woman of Honor*—a theme which lends a degree of continuity with his first and probably best effort.

In contrast to all Cleland's other works, *The Woman of Honor* is also an epistolary novel, written no doubt with the success of Samuel Richardson in mind. As in *Clarissa*, the events of the plot are conveyed from different points of view by a number of correspondents. However, Cleland, lacking Richardson's sensitivity to

emotional response, does not make so skillful use of the epistolary genre to create suspense and psychological depth as Richardson does. The work resolves itself for the most part into a series of third-person narratives by the novel's various moral authorities, so that Cleland never achieves the emotional intensity of "writing to the moment." Indeed, the central character, Clara Maynwaring, though a recognizably sentimental heroine, is almost without Clarissa's psychological interest simply because she is given so little to say in her own voice. Cleland also fails subtly to differentiate his correspondents, as Richardson does, through variations in their respective epistolary styles; his rakes are too easily profane and self-centered without the fascinating anguish and evil of Lovelace, and his moral spokesmen all sound alike.

This is not to suggest, however, that *The Woman of Honor* is a worthless novel relative to most of its contemporaries, but only that it is small before giants. The ideas of the novel are communicated according to a consistent and not unpleasing pattern. The particular social experience and courtship of the carefully educated and utterly moral Miss Maynwaring in an urban milieu of vanity and greed is recounted and judged by a brace of moral observers from the vantage point of the virtuous simplicity of the countryside: the Reverend Mellefont, her brother-in-law; Mrs. Buckley, Mellefont's aunt and Clara's protectress; and Launcelot Greville, the mentor of one of Clara's suitors. By these means the events of the novel are placed in the context of the continuing eighteenth-century controversy over the ethical potential of urban life.

Cleland is definitely of the country party. In London, Clara first confronts and subverts the attempted seductions of a noble rake, Lord Lovell, then endures the barbarity of his snobbish mother, Lady Lovell, who drives her from the Lovell household where she has been a guest, and finally prevents Lord Soberton, the fiancé of her closest friend, Lady Harriet, from jilting his betrothed in favor of her. On the pretext of her difficulties, the country observers hang an extensive, conservative, bourgeois panorama of an England fallen

from her former moral greatness and faced with disaster as a result of the avarice and vanity of her upper classes. Admittedly, this element is frequently excessive in its earnestness and repetitiveness, but it nevertheless supplies an effective and meaningful counterpoint to what would otherwise be a slight romantic fable. The critical movement of the book, in fact, is essentially complete by the first half of the third volume, with the capitulation of Soberton and the Lovells to Clara's awesome virtue,⁷ long before the romantic fable is brought to its conventional happy ending. Thus Cleland's introduction of Leonard Sumners, a typically rich, sentimental hero, to court and win Clara in the last hundred pages or so strikes me as a gratuitous and unfortunate addendum.

Whatever the book's shortcomings, it remains a very readable representative of mid-eighteenth-century fiction. The attribution of the authorship to John Cleland makes the work even more valuable as the rare, final novel of an author whose significance in the development of English prose fiction it has only recently become possible to acknowledge.

⁷This near perfection is the basis of the rejection of *The Woman of Honor* by the *Critical Review* (1st series, XXV, p. 284). The reviewer, being too close to the novel to see any symbolic significance in paragons, criticizes "the same dull round again, of perfect, and therefore insipid and uninteresting characters." However, that the review subsequently allots a disproportionate space—ten pages—to an extended excerpt is some measure of the book's saleability if not its absolute merit.

The Man Without a Culture:

A Study of John Esten Cooke's "A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow"

Elizabeth Simmons Chamberlain

John Esten Cooke (1830-1886) has suffered a regrettable decline in reputation with other writers whom literary historians have termed "Virginia Novelists." Even in his own day Cooke's work was criticized for glossing over life's uglier side. For example, in the *Richmond Whig*, Cooke's good friend, Dr. George W. Bagby, chided him for having his "eyes in the back of his head" and for viewing the world "with a pair of rose-colored goggles of enormous magnifying powers."¹ No wonder, then, that he has been dismissed by scholars of this century as an author who "sentimentalized nabobs, baronial halls, and vast estates," and as "a writer of moderate talents who fed a harmless appetite for gingerbread romance without a grievous sacrifice of the ideals of good writing."² Yet, a history of the American novel is incomplete without a less grudging acknowledgment of his achievement. In sheer bulk his literary production merits a measure of respect. Oscar Wegelin, his bibliographer, credits him with

¹Quoted by John O. Beaty, *John Esten Cooke, Virginian* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1922), p. 70. This standard biography has been superseded by two unpublished studies: Mary Jo J. Bratton, "John Esten Cooke: The Young Writer and the Old South," Diss., Univ. of North Carolina, 1969; and William E. Walker, "John Esten Cooke: A Critical Biography," Diss., Vanderbilt Univ., 1957.

²Ernest A. Leisy, *The American Historical Novel* (Norman, Okla.: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1950), p. 11; Alexander Cowie, *The Rise of the American Novel* (New York: American Book Co., 1948), p. 472.

twenty-one volumes of full-length fiction and thirteen volumes of miscellaneous prose, including two brief biographies of Stonewall Jackson (1863 and 1866) and one of General Robert E. Lee (1871); three volumes of memoirs based upon his experiences as Captain of Artillery on the staff of General "Jeb" Stuart; and six volumes of writing that had appeared earlier in periodicals, such as the *Southern Literary Messenger* to which he began contributing in his adolescence.³ But it is not in bulk alone that Cooke's contribution to American letters must be measured; his fictional canon is significant as the culmination of one literary tradition and the initiator of another. On the one hand, of his six novels published between 1854 and 1859, four, *Leather Stocking and Silk* (1854), *The Youth of Jefferson* (1854), *The Virginia Comedians* (1854), and its sequel *Henry St. John, Gentleman, of "Flower of Hundreds"* (1859),⁴ are among the last of a series of novels written about the Virginia past by Virginia authors before the Civil War and concerned thematically with the central historical issues of the founding of the American nation in a literary mode established in England with the publication of Scott's *Waverley* (1814) and widely imitated in this country beginning in 1821 with Cooper's *Spy*. On the other hand, his first novel published after the Civil War, *Surry of Eagle's Nest*,⁵ did much to establish the vogue of the sentimental, nostalgic treatment of the ante-bellum South and of plantation life that flourished in the writings of Thomas Nelson Page and was to affect popular literary taste even in our own day.

It must be admitted that Cooke's novels merit much of the critical abuse heaped upon them. As John O. Beaty, Cooke's biographer, declared half a century ago, Cooke's plots are

³Oscar Wegelin, *A Bibliography of the Separate Writings of John Esten Cooke of Virginia: 1830-1886*, Heartman's Historical Series, No. 44, 2nd ed., rev. (Hattiesburg, Miss.: Book Farm, 1941).

⁴*Leather Stocking and Silk, or Hunter John Myers and his Times: A Story of the Valley of Virginia* (New York: Harper, 1854); *The Youth of Jefferson, or a Chronicle of College Scrapes at Williamsburg, in Virginia, A.D., 1764* (New York: Redfield, 1854); *The Virginia Comedians: or, Old Days in the Old Dominion, Edited from the Ms. of C. Effingham, Esq.*, 2 vols. (New York: Appleton, 1854); *Henry St. John, Gentleman, of "Flower of Hundreds," In the County of Prince George, Virginia: A Tale of 1774-'75* (New York: Harper, 1859).

⁵*Surry of Eagle's Nest; or, The Memoirs of a Staff-Officer Serving in Virginia: Edited, from the Mss. of Colonel Surry* (New York: Bunce and Huntington, 1866).

weakly constructed, his diction trite, and his characters at times ill-conceived. Yet, he was one of the few Southerners of his day whose writing was popular enough on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line to find publishers in the north both before and after the War. We must conclude, therefore, that his part as the culmination of one literary tradition and popularizer of another earns for him a more enduring place in the history of American writing than he has received, despite the obvious artistic shortcomings of his work.

Duke University has done much to keep Cooke's work from passing into literary oblivion. The Cooke Collection in the Manuscript Department of the William R. Perkins Library is one of three major collections of unpublished materials by or about Cooke.⁶ Its holdings include letters written by and/or to Cooke; correspondence from his publishers and members of his family, including his well-known cousins J. P. Kennedy, statesman and novelist, and David Strother, better known as the illustrator and writer Porte Crayon; and some manuscripts of his published work, including his War Diaries to which Dr. Jay B. Hubbell called the attention of scholars.⁷ To date, however, scholars have ignored the very first item placed in the metal boxes that hold the Cooke Collection, an unpublished autograph manuscript of an early attempt to write the sort of fiction that a few years later was to receive Cooke's best effort.

This manuscript, a seventy-page rough draft of "A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow," which has lain virtually untouched in the Cooke Collection since 1936, deserves critical attention that it has not received. If its attribution to John Esten Cooke be correct,⁸ this little story is of more than ordinary interest to the student of Cooke and the "Virginia Novel" tradition of which he is a part. The dates given on the manuscript, "Aug. 6, 1850," at the top of the first page, and "this Dec 25. 1850 12 to 2" at the bottom of the last, place its composition at the very beginning of Cooke's career, antedated only by

⁶John Esten Cooke, *Letters and Papers: 1840-1896*, 278 items and 7 vols., Manuscript Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke Univ., Durham, N. C. The other sites of Cooke holdings are the Library of Congress and the University of South Carolina.

⁷Jay B. Hubbell, "The War Diary of John Esten Cooke," *American Literature*, VIII (1941), 526-540.

⁸The catalogue entry to the Cooke Collection in the Perkins Library ascribes composition of "A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow" to Cooke's older brother, Philip Pendleton Cooke (1816-1850), a writer of considerable promise. This seems odd in view of Philip's death in January, 1850, and the date on the last page of the MS, Dec. 25, 1850.

poems published in the *Southern Literary Messenger* while he was a youth, and the medieval chivalric romances "Knight of Espalion" and "Evan of Foix," written in 1847. Anticipating by two years the composition of *Leather Stocking and Silk*, Cooke's earliest published fictional treatment of materials from the American past, "A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow" is, therefore, the earliest known effort of Cooke in the genre that was to be the most congenial to his talents. Even more important, the student interested in the American historical novel can see here the strengths and weaknesses of Cooke's more mature historical fiction and thus come to a fairer and more accurate assessment of his contribution to American literature and of the artistic merit of his work.

To a student of Cooke's later writing, a summary of the plot of "A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow" reveals its kinship to his novels. The main story is set within a "frame" story in which the narrator, a Mr. Slingsbey, becomes irritated with the pompous attitude of a politician while both are on a visit to Martinsburg. Leaving in pique on foot to visit a friend living nearby, he meets an elderly dignified Indian man who is reluctantly persuaded to tell the story behind the name of Turkey Buzzard Hollow.

The Indian's account begins with an episode in the life of Turkey Buzzard, son of Flying Hawk, called Henry Sagamore by the whites. Flying Hawk was a Tuscarora living apart from his tribe and accumulating property according to white custom but retaining most of his Indian ways and values, and, consequently, the respect of his tribe. In Martinsburg, Turkey Buzzard (or Henry Sagamore, Jr., called alternately Sagamore or Turkey Buzzard in the story) became involved in a quarrel with Colonel Dalton, a quarrel that ended in reconciliation but which nevertheless disturbed Sagamore's father because of the land debt owed the Tuscaroras by Colonel Dalton. Sagamore, therefore, resolved to go to Richmond to collect the money for his father. There he ran afoul of Colonel Dalton's pompous fop of a son, Tom, unwittingly insulting him; the two resolved to settle the score by a duel the next day. Sagamore, however, was kept from the appointment by rescuing a girl from drowning in the James River. Despite the differences in their cultural and racial backgrounds, Sagamore fell in love with the girl, Mary Anne Lovel. She, however, spurned him, preferring Tom Dalton, who added to Saga-

more's hurt pride by taunting him for not keeping their appointment on the field of honor. Colonel Dalton composed matters between the two young men, and Sagamore departed from Richmond and the company of Mary Anne Lovel, her father, and the Daltons for Berkeley County. On his journey he was accosted by another Tuscarora, Diving Otter, who told him of the imminent rebellion of Tories in Berkeley, Hampshire, and Frederick counties under the leadership of John Claypole, William Mace, and John Brake. Sagamore then went to "Saratoga," the estate of General Daniel Morgan, his father's friend; after some amusing incidents in which Morgan broke an untamed horse, appropriately named Black Devil, he again met Mr. Lovel, who told him that his daughter had left for Battletown with Tom Dalton. Sagamore overtook Mary Anne and the younger Dalton, only to find them the victims of an Indian raid led by Diving Otter, who had developed a sudden passion for the girl. Sagamore's unsuccessful attempt to rescue his scornful love (now, as earlier, only too happy to accept his aid) resulted in their being taken by Diving Otter to the headquarters of the Tories, the house of John Claypole, from which they were rescued at length by the timely arrival of General Morgan and his company of militia. The story, however, ended unhappily. Although in the ensuing months Mary Anne forgot cowardly Tom Dalton, who had escaped from the Indian raid, and fell in love with Sagamore, the couple's joy was ended by Diving Otter who led an Indian party against the Lovel home in an attempt to steal Mary Anne from Sagamore. Mary Anne was killed in the violence that also claimed her father. Sagamore fled to the hollow, since named in his honor, where, many years later, he meets Slingsbey to whom he tells his story.

The reader of "A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow" who is also familiar with the bulk of Cooke's later historical fiction can see in it themes and motifs that he was to repeat more successfully. These relationships will be fully explored in a later Friends of the Library publication; in the meantime, we will largely restrict our remarks here to the unpublished story itself, trying to determine to what use he puts the materials of history. In the final pages we shall attempt to relate certain aspects of the "Legend" to the later novel that most resembles it, *Fairfax*, which Cooke began in 1853 but which did not appear in print until 1859 when it was published in the *South-*

ern Literary Messenger.⁹

One can see in "A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow" the influence of Winchester and the "panhandle" area where the Cooke family had its roots. It is not surprising, therefore, that Cooke's first novelette is set in what are now Berkeley and Hardy counties, West Virginia, and Frederick and Clarke counties, Virginia, regions familiar to him from childhood, nor is it surprising that the story concerns the region's most exciting and historically significant period, the years of the American Revolution. Indeed, today one need only drive down U.S. Highway 11 from Hagerstown, Maryland, to Roanoke, Virginia, taking time to read highway markers, to realize that Cooke grew up in a region rich in Revolutionary associations and traditions. But the historical influences that led him to choose this particular event, the Claypole Insurrection of 1781, as the major historical incident of the story, and General Daniel Morgan as its primary historical personage are far more specific than the vague "feeling for history" that surrounds Winchester. For Cooke was literally born into the "Morgan mystique": the house in which he was born, 223 Amherst Street, Winchester, is across the street from 226 Amherst Street, the home of Morgan's daughter where the General lived for the last few months of his life,¹⁰ dying there on July 6, 1802.¹¹ It is not too far-fetched to imagine young John Esten playing on the grounds of Mt. Hebron Cemetery, in Winchester, where Morgan was buried;¹² it is also tempting to believe that Cooke might have known Dr. William Hill, the Presbyterian minister who tended Morgan in his last illness, since Hill did not die until 1852,¹³ though the research involved in

⁹John Esten Cooke, *Lord Fairfax; or, the Master of Greenway Court*, (1892; rpt. Charleston, S. C.: Martin and Hoyt, 1893). This novel was originally serialized under the title "Greenway Court; or the Bloody Ground" in 1859 in the *Southern Literary Messenger* (Beaty, p. 37). It was originally published under the following imprint: John Esten Cooke, *Fairfax, or, the Master of Greenway Court: A Chronicle of the Valley of the Shenandoah* (New York: Carlton, 1868). R. Quarles and Lewis N. Barton (Staunton, Va.: McClure, 1854), p. 24.

¹⁰William G. Russell, *What I know about Winchester: Recollections of William Greenway Russell, 1800-1891*, reprint from the *Winchester News* by the Winchester Frederick County Historical Society, ed. Garland R. Quarles and Lewis N. Barton (Staunton, Va.: McClure, 1854), p. 24.

¹¹John W. Wayland, *Historic Homes of Northern Virginia and the Eastern Panhandle of West Virginia* (Staunton, Va.: McClure, 1937), p. 58.

¹²Robert Don Higginbotham, *Daniel Morgan, Revolutionary Rifleman* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: Publ. for the Inst. of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., by the Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1961), p. 214.

¹³Russell, p. 114.

this study did not unearth any evidence that Cooke ever knew Dr. Hill. Thus, though Cooke moved from Winchester a few miles away to his family's estate, "Glengary," when he was two, and, by his own admission barely remembered his Winchester home,¹⁴ the circumstances of Cooke's birth made the choice of Morgan as a leading character in one of his early works natural.

The circumstances of Cooke's young adulthood strengthened his associations with General Morgan, making the choice of Winchester's most famous son as a fictional character almost inevitable. Cooke's association with "Saratoga," the mansion that Morgan built of limestone traditionally believed to have been carried from the banks of Opequon Creek by Hessian prisoners in 1780 or 1781,¹⁵ was strong. It was here that Cooke's brother, the writer Philip Pendleton Cooke, married Miss Willianne Corbin Tayloe Burwell, daughter of William Burwell,¹⁶ who, in turn, was the son of Nathaniel Burwell, builder of the famous mansion Carter Hall and who once owned a grist mill with General Morgan.¹⁷ Philip's marriage was one of Cooke's earliest recollections, and would therefore have strengthened his associations with Morgan's memory,¹⁸ making the choice of Morgan as one of Cooke's early fictional heroes likely.

¹⁴JEC, quoted by Bratton, p. 56.

¹⁵Higginbotham, p. 173; Wayland, *Historic Homes*, p. 56.

¹⁶"The Cemetery Record," "Old Chapel" Clarke County, Virginia, copyright by Charles Randolph Hughes (Berryville, Va.: Blue Ridge Press, 1906), p. 38.

¹⁷Higginbotham, pp. 176-177.

¹⁸Bratton, p. 58.

It is interesting to note associations of Cooke with "Saratoga" after composition of the "Legend." Here Stonewall Jackson, under whom Cooke served in the Civil War, made his headquarters in 1862; and here Cooke spent the first two years of his married life (1867-1869), during which time the mansion's walls witnessed the birth of his first child and composition of two of his Civil War novels, *Surry of Eagle's Nest* and *Mohun* (Wayland, *Historic Homes*, p. 101). Cooke's wife was Maria Frances Page, daughter of Susan Powel Page who, with Philip Pendleton Cooke's wife, Willie Burwell, was one of three nieces raised by Nathaniel Burwell, son of the elder Nathaniel Burwell, builder of Carter Hall. Burwell purchased "Saratoga" from Morgan's daughter, Betsy Heard, in 1809; from him in 1849 "Saratoga" passed to Susan Powel Page and her husband, Dr. Robert Powel Page, parents of the future Mrs. John Esten Cooke. After 1886, when the house was willed to Mrs. Cooke's brother, the Hon. Robert Powel Page, the Cookes moved to the "Briars," 3½ miles NW of Millwood, the Page estate that was to be Cooke's home for the rest of his life (Wayland, *Historic Homes*, pp. 101-102; Higginbotham, p. 213). In view of these later associations with "Saratoga" it is surprising that Cooke never again portrayed Morgan in fiction, though much later in life he was to make him the subject of a non-fiction sketch intended for children: "Morgan, the 'Thunderbolt,'" *Stories of the Old Dominion: From the Settlement to the End of the Revolution* (New York: Harper, 1879), pp. 289-297.

In addition to the Morgan lore which Cooke must have absorbed during his boyhood in and around Winchester, his first historical fiction may owe other details to his childhood memories. The Tuscarora Church to which Sagamore refers actually existed outside Martinsburg; it has been described as the "first place where the gospel was publicly preached and divine service performed west of the Blue Ridge Mountains."¹⁹ The "Battletown" of the story is in reality the village of Berryville, eleven miles from Winchester and seven from Millwood,²⁰ near the "Briars," Cooke's home after the Civil War. The village gained its picturesque sobriquet from its association with Morgan's youthful tavern and road brawls there.²¹ We see, then, that Cooke early began working with details of places and personalities he would have been familiar with literally from infancy—details that give even this piece of juvenilia the texture of historical truthfulness that was to be a striking feature of his best novels.

But merely evoking atmosphere by accurate description of details of life in the past does not create historical fiction as it has been understood since Sir Walter Scott. Since Scott's day readers have looked for more in historical fiction than romantic adventures set in "another time, another place," for even Joseph Strutt's *Queenhoo-Hall*, completed by Scott after Strutt's death in 1808, does that, and it is difficult to think of a novel less of a pleasure to read. According to the eminent Hungarian scholar, Georg Lukács, who has published the most scholarly and comprehensive study of the historical novel, true historical fiction since Scott depends upon a philosophical view of history that assumes the dependence of the present upon conditions of the past, and which interprets the past as the "cause" of the present; in other words, it dramatizes historical change by showing through the actions and reactions of characters the conflict between two codes or ways of living.²²

¹⁹Vernon F. Aler, *Aler's History of Martinsburg and Berkeley County, West Virginia* (Hagerstown, Md.: Mail Publ. Co., 1888), p. 343. Aler fails to acknowledge his quotation of a work that Cooke cites frequently: Samuel Kercheval, *A History of the Valley*, 4th ed., rev. by Oren F. Martin (Strasborg, Va.: Shenandoah Publ., 1924), p. 63. Cooke would, of course, have been familiar with either the 1833 or 1850 editions of this work.

²⁰John W. Wayland, *Scenic and Historical Guide to the Shenandoah Valley: A Handbook of Useful Information for Tourists and Students*, 3rd. ed., rev. (Dayton, Va.: Joseph K. Ruebesh, 1923), p. 24.

²¹Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Virginia . . .* (Charleston, S. C.: William R. Babcock, 1852), p. 233.

²²Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, trans. by Hannah and Stanley Mitchell

This struggle between old and new, wrought by the conflict of values represented in different cultural heritages, was to become Cooke's great theme in his mature historical fiction. Beginning with *Leather Stocking and Silk*, which shows the mingling of cultures on the Virginia border to create a distinctly "Virginian" character neither exclusively Dutch-German, Scotch-Irish, nor Tidewater English, the elements of which it is made, Cooke's interest in the past as the precondition of the present finds fullest and best expression in *The Virginia Comedians* and *Fairfax*. In *The Virginia Comedians* Cooke explores the conflict between the old aristocratic values of English-oriented Tidewater feudal society and the newer values of the American yeomanry of the Shenandoah Valley, a conflict that he illustrates in the rivalry between the aristocratic fop Champ Effingham and the humbly born social philosopher Charles Waters for the hand of Beatrice Hallam. In *Fairfax* Cooke turns his pen to the conflict between the "old" and the "new" on the Virginia frontier represented by the struggle between Lord Fairfax and his son Falconbridge. Here Cooke is concerned with the clash between English feudal values, based on title and inherited right, and the new American value system, based on individual ability and worth, interweaving a subplot which raises the question of the role of the Indian in creating the amalgam known as "American character."

There can be little doubt that this is the sort of question Cooke attempts to portray fictionally in "A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow." We find here many of the requisites of historical fiction: a story, based upon a real event in history, the Claypole Insurrection of June 1781, the historicity of which is amply attested to by documents contemporaneous with the event itself; the use of an historical figure, General Morgan, in a subordinate role; and what Lukács calls a "time-spirit" protagonist, Henry Sagamore the Indian, a character who is not historical and who probably owes his name to the Algonquin word for *chief* popularized in the nineteenth century when, according to one authority, "it acquired dignity in the Roman-

(Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), pp. 34-53. While an authoritative study of the American Historical Novel remains to be written, future studies of the genre must acknowledge the fine work of Avrom Fleishman whose work, *The English Historical Novel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), builds on and takes issue with some of the central assumptions of the socialist critic Lukács, while adding new insight into such eminent British novelists as Dickens and Eliot.

tic period of love of Indian names.”²³ Sagamore, the unacculturated Indian who loves beyond the bounds of his race, is used to represent the problem that the Indian presented to the American as he pushed westward. As crude as it is, this story indicates that early in life Cooke was seriously trying to write historical fiction in the manner popularized by Scott, though there is no evidence that he was directly influenced by Scott or even that he ever read his work. As his earliest effort of historical fiction based on the American past, we can use “A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow” as a measure by which to judge Cooke’s growth as an artist in his later novels. But before we can compare it to his mature fictional efforts, we must settle the difficult question of the degree to which Cooke is faithful to fact in this unpublished novelette.

Nineteenth-century scientific accounts verify the details of the geological features of the setting that Cooke describes. The slate that Slingsbey the narrator finds while walking from Martinsburg “on the right hand” and “on the left . . . slate everywhere” is mentioned in the report of a geological survey in 1874 which describes “the *lighter slaty lands*, famous for wheat crops,” and “limestones of all kinds, for building and agricultural uses; marbles, slates, freestones and sandstones.”²⁴ According to one of Cooke’s contemporaries, the Lost River, scene of much of the story’s action, which flows into the Cacapon and then into the Potomac, is one of the primary geological wonders of Hardy and Hampshire counties, and “is so called from having, in the aggregate, a subterranean passage of three miles under several mountains.”²⁵ Thus, insofar as the physical detail of the setting is concerned, Cooke’s story is true to fact.

Equally true to fact is Cooke’s portrayal of General Morgan in the story. Morgan’s biographers picture him essentially as drawn by Cooke. They depict a man of tremendous size, profane, with great love of a joke—a man who as a leader could inspire his men to almost superhuman feats of daring. The raw humor which Cooke palely imitates in Morgan’s remarks to Sagamore about his younger days of Indian fighting is corroborated by a later historian: “To the outward view of his men he

²³George R. Stewart, *American Place Names: A Concise and Selective Dictionary for the Continental States of America* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), p. 417.

²⁴*Virginia: a Geographical and Political Summary . . .*, prepared and publ. by the Board of Immigration (Richmond, Va.: Supt. of Publ. Printing, 1876), pp. 33 and 46.

²⁵Howe, p. 300.

was always the joyous-tempered, gay-hearted comrade, abounding in quip and joke and jest and overflowing with high spirits.”²⁶ Scholars have gathered evidence of Morgan’s battlefield oratory, especially striking before the Battle of Cowpens.²⁷ It is the tradition of his bold wit that lies behind Morgan’s remarks in the story to Tory John Brake after his home has been destroyed by fire: “You and Claypole kindled the fire of rebellion in the Lost River Country Mynheer, and you complain that we kindle your barns & house.” This tradition also makes credible the comment of the story’s narrator: “Morgan was justly proud of this speech. It was a fine idea he was accustomed afterwards to say, finely expressed, and on the spur of the moment.” Cooke’s portrait of Morgan as a vigorous leader agrees with many a tale recorded by eyewitnesses and collected by Robert Higginbotham, Morgan’s best modern biographer. According to one of Higginbotham’s sources, Morgan

tried to prevent an impenetrable gulf between officers and enlisted men. An illustrative tale has it that Morgan once noticed two of his riflemen sweating and straining as they attempted to move a large rock from a road. Seeing an ensign standing nearby, Morgan said, “Why don’t you lay hold and help these men?” “Sir,” replied the latter, “I am an officer!” “I beg your pardon,” thundered Morgan, “I did not think of that!” Jumping from his horse, he gave the soldiers a hand in rolling away the stone.²⁸

It is clear, therefore, that the portrait of General Morgan in the story, while owing much to Cooke’s imagination, is true to the legends of the exploits left behind by the great fighter. In this respect, as well as in his faithfulness to the geological details of the setting, Cooke’s first work of historical fiction does not strain our credulity beyond the limits of the historical verisimilitude that we expect.

Cooke also handles the details of the Claypole Insurrection with general adherence to the facts known to him. The incident upon which Cooke builds his story is neatly summarized by the local historian Henry Howe in an account written two

²⁶Armistead G. Gordon, “General Daniel Morgan,” *Men and Events: Chapters of Virginia History* (Staunton, Va.: McClure, 1923), p. 24.

²⁷Higginbotham, p. 136.

²⁸Paraphrase and partial quotation from the Public Papers of George Clinton (New York: 1899-1914), V, 236, cited by Higginbotham, p. 93.

years after Cooke's. After placing the story of the Insurrection in historical perspective by relating the capture of Petersburg by the British under Tarleton and the subsequent American fear of an imminent invasion by the traitor Arnold and Lord Cornwallis, Howe succinctly describes what happened as follows:

When Cornwallis entered Virginia, a party of tories at the head of whom was a Scotchman named Claypole, and his two sons, raised the British standard, and gained a large party on Lost River, and on the South fork of the Wappatomaka. It was their intention to join Cornwallis. It was, however, crushed in the bud by a force from Winchester, under General Daniel Morgan; and several of the young men, ashamed of their conduct, volunteered and marched to aid in the capture of the British at Yorktown.²⁹

This incident was not considered important enough in Cooke's day for it to find its way into many nineteenth-century text books. It is conspicuous by its absence from Arthur and Carpenter's *History of Virginia*, from George Tucker's biography of Thomas Jefferson, and even from Charles Campbell's *History of the Colony* which Cooke cites as a source of *Henry St. John, Gentleman*.³⁰ In fact, Cooke himself was later to omit it entirely from his own history of his native state.³¹ Nevertheless, the episode was obviously sufficiently interesting and significant to the budding young author in 1850.

Cooke's footnote to the incident in which General Morgan brands John Payne with a red-hot spade and calls him a Freemason tells us that he found the story in Samuel Kercheval's *History of the Valley of Virginia*, a source which he was to use over and over again in his career and even to cite in notes as the source of details in his major novels. Kercheval's three-

²⁹Howe, p. 301; Higginbotham, p. 160.

³⁰T. S. Arthur and W. H. Carpenter, *The History of Virginia, from its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, 1852); George Tucker, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson, Third President of the United States*. . . (London: Charles Knight, Ludgate St., 1837), I; Charles Campbell, *Introduction to the History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia*, in one volume (Richmond: B. B. Minor, 1847); Cooke, *Henry St. John, Gentleman*, p. 502.

³¹John Esten Cooke, *Virginia: A History of the People* (1883; rpt., with suppl. by William Garrott Brown, New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1911), pp. 454-463. Even later histories, focusing specifically upon the Shenandoah Valley-Panhandle section, give the episode short shrift. See, for example, Gordon, p. 23; Julia Davis, *The Shenandoah*, illus. by Frederic Taubes (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1945), p. 100, which cites Joseph A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia*. . . (Richmond: William Ellis Jones, 1886), p. 181.

page account of the uprising³² is the basis for later accounts of the Insurrection, including that of Howe. Because Cooke depends so heavily upon Kercheval, and because documents from the Revolutionary period verify the essential accuracy of Kercheval's account, determination of the extent to which Cooke agrees with his source is essential to our estimate of Cooke's fidelity to fact.

Cooke follows Kercheval's account in his list of the participants in the Insurrection: John Claypole, the Scotsman; John Brake, the German; and Old Mace, to whom Cooke gives the first name William. The Tories' use of the Claypole and Brake houses as headquarters; the two-day feast at Brake's; the episode of the branding of John Payne are all details that Cooke borrows from his source. More significant in determining the historical accuracy of Cooke's story, however, are the liberties that Cooke takes with the Kercheval account.

The reader can see many minor discrepancies between the two versions of the story that would not affect our estimate of the factual accuracy of Cooke's "Legend." For example, historically the Insurrection occurred in June 1781, whereas Cooke places it in autumn, his favorite season.³³ He omits entirely from the story Kercheval's account of the series of errors that led to the cold-blooded killing of Old Mace, a Tory, in revenge for a wound delivered to Captain William Snickers, aide-de-camp to General Morgan, a wound far less serious than an over-zealous American soldier, in his drunken stupor, believed it to be.³⁴ Cooke may have omitted this incident to avoid further diffusing his already weak narrative focus. But Cooke adds more than he subtracts from Kercheval. He invents fires at the homes of the Tories, probably to strengthen the Morgan portrait, for they provide the reason for Morgan's exhibition of oratorical wit in the incident to which we have already referred. Unfortunately, this departure from Kercheval also distorts the Morgan image and makes of him a kind of fiend, "directing here, swearing there, laughing and rubbing his hands with glee"—a man "who in this appropriation of the enemies' goods saw only a good & true rule of warfare carried out." Another addition to the Kercheval account, the expansion of the episode of the branding of Payne, told in one sen-

³²Kercheval, pp. 144-147.

³³Beaty, pp. 19-20.

³⁴Kercheval, p. 146.

tence by Kercheval, loses some of its humor in Cooke's addition. Because we can see some artistic reason for many of Cooke's changes in the Kercheval account, we can conclude, I believe, that they were intentional, and not careless departures from the historical record. With the exception of the invention of details that so exaggerate the warrior zeal of Morgan that he nearly becomes at one point in the story a callous monster, which he never was in reality, most of Cooke's apparently artistically motivated departures from the Kercheval account do not damage the historical truthfulness of Cooke's retelling of the tale.

There are, however, two other differences between the original Kercheval account and Cooke's fictional version, differences that will more radically affect our estimate of the historical veracity and effectiveness of "A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow." Kercheval clearly explains Claypole's motives for gathering a force to oppose the Americans: "They [the Tories] first manifested symptoms of disloyalty [to the American cause] by refusing to pay their taxes and refusing to furnish their quota of men to serve in the militia."³⁵ In the story Cooke omits all mention of the Tories' motive for resisting the Americans, merely telling the reader through the words of Diving Otter to Sagamore "that in Hampshire, Berkeley and Frederick there was at a time imminently near to be a general rising of the Indians and tories against the loyalists." The shallowness of Cooke's knowledge of the history behind the incident he fictionalizes is evident in his assumption throughout the story that the "loyalists" that he mentions were loyal to the American cause, whereas most historians, then as now, used the term as a synonym for Tory. This misunderstanding of terminology on Cooke's part, however, does not seriously affect the quality of the story as historical fiction, for he could have found his error and corrected it in revision. More serious is his failure to explain, as Kercheval does, why Claypole rallied the Tories against the American cause in the first place. By failing to include the motive of the rebels, Cooke omits the basic issue of this episode. Without mention of the causes of the incident, Cooke's novelette lacks one of the basic requirements for historical fiction: examination of past history as a conflict of forces, the outcome of which has determined conditions in the present. Lacking analysis of the is-

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 145.

sues that lay behind the events themselves, Cooke's story becomes one of external action: of white hats against the black, of good patriots against bad Tories. Because historical fiction since Scott depends upon consideration of the social, political, or economic meaning of events, and since Cooke fails to provide analysis of the issues behind the story's major historical action, he is forced to find the historical issue in details of the story having little to do with its central historical episode. It is in this divorce of historical issue from the major historical event that we find one of the "Legend's" greatest weaknesses as historical fiction.

The second of Cooke's major variations from the Kercheval account that will seriously affect our estimate of the story as historical fiction is his inclusion of the Tuscarora as participants in the Claypole Insurrection. Clearly Kercheval does not include Indians of any kind in his version of the event; however, research into the history of the Indian in Virginia has yielded such contradictory results that we cannot dismiss Cooke's addition of Tuscarora to the Insurrection as falsification of historical fact merely because he departs from Kercheval, for the facts of Indian influence, apart from Kercheval's silence in the matter, are far from clear. To assess fairly the historicity of Cooke's fictional treatment we must settle several questions: first, whether there were enough Tuscarora in Virginia to have played any significant role in Revolutionary skirmishes there; second, whether there were enough Indians, of any tribe whatsoever, in northern Virginia at the time to warrant inclusion in the "Legend," and, if so, what historical factors, if any, led Cooke to identify them all as Tuscarora; and finally, whether other historical accounts provide any factual basis for Cooke's alliance of Indian and Tory against the Americans in northern Virginia. What we must settle, in brief, is whether Cooke's addition of Indian participation to the Kercheval account of the Claypole Insurrection is made up of whole cloth solely for the sake of plot interest, or whether there is some basis elsewhere in the historical record for Cooke's addition. In the answer to this question we will find part of the answer to the larger one: whether in his additions to Kercheval Cooke violates the principle of historical verisimilitude, one of the qualities we have sought in historical fiction since Scott.

Works dealing with Tuscarora history clearly indicate that if

there were any Tuscarora living in Virginia in 1781, there could not have been enough to play a significant role in the Revolution. The reasons for this are well known. Related linguistically to the Five Nations of the Iroquois, the Tuscarora were numerous in the Carolinas in the seventeenth century. Goaded to wholesale warfare against the white settlers by abusive treatment, such as the selling of Indian children into slavery, the Tuscarora rose against the whites in bloody and widespread rebellion in 1711-1713. Though they inflicted heavy casualties on the white population, including the murder of the founder of New Bern, North Carolina, Baron deGraffenreid, the Tuscarora were soundly defeated. With their numbers decimated, they sought admission to the "Long House" or Council of the Five Nations, which was reluctantly granted. The entire Tuscarora tribe moved northward, first, to northern Virginia and Pennsylvania, and finally to New York State, where they became the last of the Six Nations. Of course, some chiefs made their permanent homes in the area through which the tribe traveled to reach the North, notably in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley and in lands of the Ohio and Kentucky territories, just beyond the Alleghenies; however, so few settled in any one place that tribal identity for those who did not proceed with the tribe to New York seems to have been lost.³⁶ It is clear, therefore, that in picturing enough of the Tuscarora tribe in Virginia to have participated in the 1781 Claypole Insurrection, Cooke stretches the limits of our historical credulity.

Had Cooke read more widely, he would have known that in 1781 Virginia had within her borders practically no Tuscarora, and that the Indians just beyond the borders to the South and West were members of other tribes, principally Cherokee and Catawba. These facts were readily available to him. By 1850, the date of the story's composition, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, the Indian agent, had already published many articles in which he traced the story of the Tuscarora migration which he described in greater detail later in his monumental six-

³⁶This information is available in many reliable sources. I depended primarily upon: J. N. B. Hewitt, "Tuscarora," *Handbook of Indians North of Mexico*, ed. Frederick Webb Hodge, 2 pts., Smithsonian Institution Bureau of Indian Ethnology, Bull. 30, House Doc., Vol. 61 (Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 1907), II, 842-853; Flora W. Seymour, *The Story of the Red Man* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1929), pp. 45-68; Clark Wissler, *Indians of the United States*, rev. by Lucy Wales Kluckhohn (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1966), pp. 125-140.

folio-volume study of the Indian tribes of the United States.³⁷ Even if Cooke had not known Schoolcraft's works, the facts that they include could have been found in volumes that Cooke elsewhere claims to have used, particularly those of Thomas Jefferson, whose writing he cites in the "Historical Illustrations" to *Henry St. John, Gentleman*.³⁸ Cooke's apparent ignorance of the fact that there were not enough Tuscarora in Virginia or on the border in 1781 to take part in the Insurrection leads us to the second matter that must be settled before we can fairly evaluate the historicity of Cooke's work: the factors that may have led him to assume the existence of enough Tuscarora in Virginia to have taken part in the Insurrection.

Perhaps Cooke himself provides in the story the answer to this question. In the opening paragraph of his story Sagamore calls his listener's attention to the fact that

the country which you now see covered with houses and waving with wheat, was only a hunting ground for the Tuscarora Indians—those tribes whose mounds for the dead are still to be seen down there on the banks of the Opequon.

Cooke was convinced that evidences of past Indian culture were evidences, specifically, of Tuscarora culture. Cooke may have gathered this conclusion as well as the story of the Claypole Insurrection from Kercheval, who also attributes these mounds to the Tuscarora.³⁹ Then, too, the local association of the Tuscarora with a local landmark mentioned in the story, Tuscarora Church, would have strengthened in Cooke's mind the association that Kercheval makes between the mounds and the Tuscarora tribe. Clearly the strength of Kercheval's

³⁷Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information, Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of Indian Tribes of the United States*. . . (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, 1851-1857). The following portions were especially pertinent, summarizing the sort of information which had been included in Schoolcraft's earlier works, which Cooke might at least have heard of: I, 441-457; III, 401, 621-628; IV, 606; VI, 277. I have not cited specific details from this enormous work for they are more readily available elsewhere; however, all later students of Indian lore must acknowledge at least a tremendous "second-hand" debt to Schoolcraft's labors, for his volumes are listed in the bibliography of every modern authority I consulted.

³⁸Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. and introd. by William Peden (Chapel Hill, N. C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1955), p. 97; John Esten Cooke, *Henry St. John, Gentleman*, p. 495. Cooke's citation is not to this particular work, but he was familiar with Jefferson's memoirs and letters which he used extensively in writing *The Youth of Jefferson*; there is, therefore, little reason to question his familiarity with Jefferson's only complete book.

³⁹Kercheval, pp. 144-147; Aler, pp. 25-26.

testimony and of local landmark tradition can explain why Cooke attributes the mounds to the Tuscarora. All this may have led him to add two and two and get five; he may have believed the mounds to have been built more recently than they apparently were, and thus to believe that the Tuscarora builders were still around in 1781 in sufficiently great numbers to have played a role in the Insurrection.

Cooke may have been led to the conclusion that the Tuscarora sided with the Tories against the Americans in the Revolution by the reports of Kercheval and many of his contemporaries telling of the action of many Indian tribes still in the area in the middle of the eighteenth century in behalf of the British cause. Such action was the result of long-standing British policy to manipulate the Indians to further British interests and to check the growing American nationalist sentiment during the "Cold War" between the end of the French and Indian War and the outbreak of the American Revolution. Kercheval includes many hair-raising tales of Indian atrocities against the Colonists living in Virginia's western counties.⁴⁰ Kercheval is not alone in stressing the "unholy alliance" between English sympathizer and Indian, unhappy with the conditions which he was forced to accept as the American pushed deeper and deeper into lands which the Indian believed rightfully his. Author after author that Cooke either might have known or definitely cites in his novels reiterates the bloody details of the Tory-inspired raids of Indians on the border both before and after the Revolution. Charles Campbell, for example, tells of the retaliation of a Colonel Christian in response to Indian raids; Alexander Scott Withers writes of an attack on March 5, 1781, in which a mother and her six children were scalped, and of the settlers' retaliatory massacre of Moravian Indians who, despite their conversion to Christianity and adoption of pacifist principles, were suspected of collaborating with the Tory enemy on no grounds other than the fact that they were Indian which made them automatically suspected of being Tory sympathizers.⁴¹ That there is much truth in these sensationalist accounts of border warfare attacks of Tory and Indian against the American settlements is made abundantly clear in the annals of the day. For example, on

⁴⁰Kercheval, pp. 68-138.

⁴¹Campbell, p. 161; Alexander Scott Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*. . . (1831; rev. and ed. by Reuben Gold Thwaites; Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, 1895), pp. 309, 315-317.

April 16, 1781, a "Jno. Floyd" writes to Governor Jefferson from Jefferson County, Kentucky, that forty-seven members of their community have been killed by Indians at the instigation of the British or Tories since January: "Not a week passes & some weeks scarcely a day without some of our distressed inhabitants feeling the fatal effects of the infernal rage and fury of these Execrable Hell Hounds."⁴²

From all this we can see that, though Cooke's story clearly violates known facts when he adds Tory-inspired Tuscarora to Kercheval's account of the Insurrection, his violation of known history is understandable, for it is consonant with local tradition associating the Tuscarora with the setting of the story, and with the known facts of Tory-inspired raids of Indians on families loyal to the cause of American independence. Therefore, while Cooke's account of the Claypole Insurrection is incorrect in some of its details, it is essentially true to the general conditions of the day as Cooke understood them. History corroborates Cooke's account of the Indians' siding with the Tories during the period in which the story is set; he is in error only in regard to the details of Indian involvement in the Claypole Insurrection and of the presence of Tuscarora in any numbers in the area during the Revolution.

But this is a grave error in the artistic conception of the story, for the introduction of Indians of any tribe into the Claypole Insurrection episode enables Cooke to center the emotional conflict of the "Legend" in the problem of the unacculturated Indian trying to enter white society, a problem that did not exist at the time of the plot's action. Therefore, Cooke's seemingly insignificant violation of the principle of historical verisimilitude leads him to a problem that cuts right into the heart of "A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow" as historical fiction, the problem of the wrong cultural conflict for the era in which the story is cast. For into the story of the "Indian-white," the Indian who wants to live in two worlds, Cooke clearly projects into the past problems that were not alive until his own day, the nineteenth century, and not in the world of the story's action.

That the story's emotional and cultural focus on the problem of Indian-white cultural accommodation is not appropriate to

⁴²*Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, From April 1, 1781, to December 21, 1781, Preserved in the Capitol at Richmond*, ed. William P. Palmer and Sherwin McRae (Richmond: James E. Goode, 1881), II, 48.

the story's historic setting, but belongs, rather, to Cooke's own lifetime, can be demonstrated by comparing aspects of the Indian problem that seemed important to people of both eras. An example of how radically the white man's definition of the "Indian problem" changed in the interim between the era of Cooke's story and Cooke's own day is apparent in the contrast between the attitudes which Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, the scholar of Indian culture, was raised with, and those that he espoused in his adulthood. He tells us that when he was a child the problem of Indian-white relationships did not really exist; the very idea of any cross-cultural contact, let alone cultural "accommodation," was repugnant:

My earliest impressions of the Indian race, were drawn from the fireside rehearsals of incidents which had happened during the perilous times of the American revolution; in which my father was a zealous actor, and were all inseparably connected with the fearful ideas of the Indian yell, the tomahawk, the scalping knife, and the fire brand. In these recitals, the Indian was depicted as the very impersonation of evil—a sort of wild demon, who delighted in nothing so much as blood and murder. Whether he had any mind, was governed by any reasons, or even had any soul, nobody inquired, and nobody cared. It was always represented as a meritorious act in old revolutionary reminiscences, to have killed one of them in the border wars, and thus aided in ridding the land of a cruel and unnatural race, in whom all feelings of pity, justice, and mercy, were supposed to be obliterated.⁴³

As a child Schoolcraft was raised to see the Indian as a "cruel and unnatural race"—as a "nonperson," if you will—and therefore to be eliminated so that the white could go about his business of occupying and taming the land the Indian once roamed. But Schoolcraft goes on to show how, gradually, he began to see the Indian as an individual, as a person of worth.⁴⁴ Scholars see this sort of change of attitude on the part of the white man as a whole as the result of the Indian's final military defeat, when he was no longer a threat. With the realization that, as a group, the Indian had been defeated was born

⁴³Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *The Indian in his Wigwam, or Characteristics of the Red Race of America* (Buffalo, N. Y.: Derby and Hewson, 1848), p. 65.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

the question of intercultural relationship; simultaneously, the future of the Red Man in the land that was once his began to trouble the white American's conscience. Until his culture was somehow either assimilated or eliminated, the Indian was to remain an ethnological and ethical embarrassment. Because of the detrimental effect of contact with white culture on the Indian, a fact long before recognized by "true narrative" writers,⁴⁵ the question of how the Indian and white could adjust to each other was raised.

To the white American, the solution was simple: the Indian must do the adjusting; he must, insofar as possible, adopt white ways; above all, he must live with his own people, apart from the white man, preferably on some sort of reservation. If anyone must live between two worlds it must be the Indian because he was believed to have nothing to contribute to white civilization. As "white-centered" as this concept of Indian-white cultural "accommodation" may seem to us today, it was in marked advance of the view of the relationship between Indian and white held in the era of the "Legend's" setting. In the Revolutionary era few whites could recognize any relationship between the two cultures that did not involve open hostility; annihilation was considered the "final solution" of the Indian problem. That the next century was able even to consider the matter of cultural accommodation and to question the humanity of constantly uprooting the Indian and of making his continued tribal existence impossible is a mark of progress toward a more humanitarian view.

Roy Harvey Pearce, a scholar interested in the impact of the Indian on American culture, shows this humanitarian concern for the plight of the Indian torn between two worlds to be characteristic of much nineteenth-century American literature.⁴⁶ It is this sort of concern for the individual, caught in the process of cultural adjustment, a process that was to end in the virtual disappearance of Indian culture, that Cooke expresses in his story. One can see in the "Legend," for example, genuine concern for the difficulties that the Indian encountered (and even today still encounters) in his quest for justice in the white man's court. Another example of Cooke's concern for

⁴⁵Henry Trumbull, *History of the Discovery of America*. . . (Boston: George Clark, 1830), pp. 95-96.

⁴⁶Roy Harvey Pearce, *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization*, rev. ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1965), passim. Most of the background of the meaning of "savage" used in this article has been derived from Pearce.

the problem of the Indian trying to find his way in an alien culture appears in Sagamore's realization that past Indian greatness means nothing to the white American, a feeling that he expresses in his words to Mary Anne, "I am nobody—I am an Indian." As much as we may rejoice in Cooke's humanitarianism, artistically we regret it, for it was appropriate to his own day; the situation of the Indian seeking justice from the white man and recognition of his worth as an individual within white society probably would not have occurred in 1781, when the events of the story take place.

Also more appropriate to the era in which the story was composed than to its setting, and hence also violating the "historical integrity" of the work, are the philosophical assumptions upon which the resolution of the plot rests. The only "ideal Indian" in the story is Sagamore as an old man, living apart from white society, yet possessing the manners of the white man and being so familiar with English literature that he can quote Shakespeare. He has become as "assimilated" into white society as it and his own Indian pride will allow. But Sagamore the young man is quite another person, and in this difference lies the philosophical assumption with which Cooke resolves the question of Indian-white accommodation, an assumption clearly from Cooke's own day. Very different is the eighteenth-century assumption about the nature of the Indian upon which Cooke builds the character of young Sagamore, articulated in the story by Sagamore's father, Flying Hawk. In admonishing his son against incurring the enmity of the Daltons, Flying Hawk expresses the following criticism of Indian character:

My son—there is but one thing wrong in Indian life and that one thing is passion. Look at the smoke of my pipe as it curls up—so the kind and moderate rise pure and fragrant to the happy hunting grounds. Look at the ashes in the bowl—such are those whose passion burns within them—the fire goes out and nothing is there but burnt out worthless ashes.

Flying Hawk is here describing something very real in early white views of the Indian: the basic instincts that were believed to separate the red man from the white and to make his independent acquisition of the arts of civilization impossible, and to make him an unpromising subject for the "civilizing" efforts of the whites. Flying Hawk calls this quality

passion. His point, though inappropriately voiced by an Indian, is that the Indian is, in Pearce's terms, "savage"; not the "noble savage" of Romantic theory, but "savage" as understood in early America: one who may not be personally cruel or fierce, but who is nonetheless "savage" in the sense of natural wildness, lacking the softening influences of civilization. If Sagamore is noble, his is a "savage nobility," clearly inferior to civilized Christian nobility. This idea of the Indian colors Cooke's entire portrait of the youthful Sagamore. Artistically it is fitting that it should, for in the period of the story's action, Sagamore's best quality as Indian, pride in his race and in the achievements of his people, is the very quality that would have made successful entry into white society at that time impossible. It is Sagamore's proud passion, based upon racial pride, that causes him to commit gross errors as he tries to act by the white code of "honor" after unwittingly insulting Dalton's son; it is "ferocious pride" in his descent from Flying Hawk that impels him to leap into the James River to rescue Mary Anne as white men stand helplessly by. But it is this very pride in his race and in its past days of glory that makes a satisfactory life with Mary Anne impossible, for it is this, his very best quality as Indian, that she scorns. The relationship between Indian and white girl dies, as historically it must, because they are separated by a cultural gap, while he survives. Sagamore's survival, however, is not without its price: giving up much of his "Indianness." He must adopt many aspects of white culture, including Christianity; yet, he must retain a measure of racial identity, symbolized by continuing to wear Indian clothing. The elder Sagamore is conceived by Cooke in terms of the nineteenth-century white ideal of the Indian: one willing to admit the inferiority of his own culture and his need of the influence of white civilization, yet happy to "know his place" on the fringes of white society. Therefore Sagamore accepts white man's civilization but is psychologically unable completely to adopt white ways. He has feet in both worlds, but can live in neither; the solution to his dilemma, if solution it can be called, is a life apart from both and to become, in essence, a man without a culture.

As a man without a culture, Sagamore is intended by Cooke to be a "time-spirit" figure as defined in Lukács's analysis of Scott's historical fiction: one whose life is affected by the conflicting cultural forces exerted upon him, forces peculiarly

related to the period of history in which he lives. It is apparent, however, that Cooke's first attempt to write serious historical fiction in the manner of Scott using native American materials fails because of the novelette's second major weakness: the forces brought to bear on the life of the protagonist are not cultural forces peculiar to the period of the story's action, but of another. Cooke places his hero in a situation that simply would not have arisen in 1781, for the questions of the survival of the individual Indian and of the relationship between the two cultures had not been asked. Absorbed as he was in the problem of survival, the frontiersman saw the Indian only as a physical obstacle to the white man's pursuit of his goal of making a home in an unfriendly wilderness. Annihilation of the Indian as a person if he could not be coerced into accepting white man's civilization was considered a Christian duty; the questions of the humanity of such a procedure and of individual Indian response to pressures from the white man's world were of no concern. Because in the era of the story's setting Indian "response" to white pressure was simply a matter of the Indian's moving from the area, and "cultural contact" occurred in the form of armed hostility; Sagamore, conceived as fundamentally different in nature from the white, would probably have been destroyed had he, in 1781, actually been caught in the conflict of the day. Had he somehow managed to survive physically, he would more than likely have lived on into another century on the fringes of the white man's world, as did Cooper's Chingachgook, combining the worst features of both ways of living. The life of Sagamore as an old man, partaking of the best of both worlds, the freedom of the Indian and the intellectual cultivation of the white, was a state, to use Sagamore's words concerning his love affair, which "forever could not be."

We have seen in this study that Cooke, in composing "A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow," committed two conceptual blunders in his first attempt to write historical fiction in the manner of Scott: failure to explain the fundamental historical issue behind the major event in the story, the Claypole Insurrection; and historical anachronism—the resolution of the conflict on the basis of cultural and philosophical premises of a later era. The result is a divided focus that causes the story to lack verisimilitude, a flaw so obvious that even the texture of literal truth evident in the Morgan portrait and scenes of the

Claypole Insurrection cannot rescue it. One hopes that it was recognition of the hopelessness of trying to unify the focus of the story with its resolution that caused Cooke never to return to it.

It is to Cooke's credit that in writing his later works he outgrew some of the obvious defects of "A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow." We must say in all honesty that he never overcame his tendency to emotional excess, and that plot construction was to remain a weakness. Also, in the words of Beaty, Cooke never conquered his tendency "not always [to] distinguish between what might have happened and what is generally known not to have happened,"⁴⁷ so evident in the inclusion of the Tuscarora in the Claypole Insurrection. However, a measure of his growth as an historical novelist may be seen in the contrast between the treatment of the Indian in *Fairfax* with his handling of the same subject in "A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow"; the difference indicates the degree of Cooke's growth as an artist in three short years.

Though Cooke partially approaches his subject from the point of view of the nineteenth-century humanitarian, as he does in "A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow," in *Fairfax* his more modern presuppositions do not affect the way he resolves the conflict in which the Indian is placed, a fact that shows growth in handling the problem of historical verisimilitude. We find Cooke's humanitarian premise is one of the components in the portrait of Lightfoot, the Catawba brave who loves the white settler, Cannie Powell. In Cooke's first full description of him we see a "noble savage" sort of character. Tall, slim, proudly clad in full Indian dress,

In his bearing there was something noble and impressive; and as he stood for a moment leaning with crossed arms, bare like his chest, upon a cedar bow, he presented an appearance eminently attractive for its wild and graceful beauty.⁴⁸

Though clearly a child of the forest, Lightfoot has "a grave dignity and courtesy which might have graced an emperor."⁴⁹ In fact, Lightfoot is by nature, without the beneficial influence

⁴⁷Beaty, p. 38.

⁴⁸JEC, *Fairfax*, p. 59.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 217.

of prolonged exposure to white man's culture, very much like Falconbridge, the book's hero:

A close observer would have said, indeed, that these two youths of different race and training had come of the same blood. Both bore themselves with an unconscious pride,—both had the native truth and honesty of the forest, in eye and lip and tone and voice.⁵⁰

However much alike Lightfoot and Falconbridge may be, their similarities serve merely to underscore their differences, for Lightfoot is Indian and savage, Falconbridge white and civilized:

There was the same frank gaze, clear, penetrating, unshrinking—the look of the eagle upon the sun: the same proud simplicity of attitude; the same erect carriage of person. They stood thus, no inapt representatives and types of the Caucasian and the Indian—the civilized European and the untutored North American—the court and the trackless wilderness.⁵¹

Lightfoot in the passage quoted above is no more a nineteenth century “noble savage” than is the youthful Sagamore, for in the difference between the “court” and the “trackless wilderness” Cooke is clearly defining the difference between “savage nobility” and “Christian nobility,” one plainly “better” than the other. This is, as we have seen, the premise that informs Cooke's earlier portrayal of Sagamore as a young man. The reason, then, for the superiority of Cooke's treatment of the Indian in *Fairfax* lies in placing him in situations that could have occurred in the era in which the events are cast and in resolving the conflict in his life in a manner consistent with conditions of the period.

“A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow” is written as if in 1781 an Indian's moving into white society were a real possibility, an assumption that rings untrue because of so much historical evidence of uncompromising cultural bias on both sides to the contrary. Lightfoot, on the other hand, is made by Cooke to realize from the outset the impossibility of his successful entry into white society; he understands his inferiority as an Indian in the eyes of the white. In explaining to the half-

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 364.

breed "villain" of the novel, Yellow Serpent, his reasons for adopting white man's religion, Lightfoot states, "I am evil, but not so much as I was."⁵² He sees himself as savage in the sense of possessing culture inferior to the white man's; therefore, after inadvertently revealing his love to Cannie, he draws back because "I am not a pale-face, I am a poor Indian, and inferior to the tribe beyond the Big Water."⁵³ Unlike Sagamore, Lightfoot never seriously considers the possibility of consummating his love for the white girl; mutual accommodation of Indian and white culture in marriage is never presented as a real solution to Lightfoot's problem, for in the period of the story's setting such an alliance would be unthinkable. Indeed, Cooke seems to stress the impossibility and undesirability of mingling the two cultures in contrasting the passion of Yellow Serpent for the insane "Lamia," the temptress Bertha Argal, with Lightfoot's pure but hopeless adoration of Cannie. In the physically deformed and morally depraved half-breed who lusts for the white woman Cooke symbolically expresses what was thought to be the inevitable result of a combination of the two cultures: a repulsive, evil, maladjusted creature, scarcely human, desired by neither society. The character of Lightfoot, in contrast to Sagamore, is created with the assumption of inborn hostility between the two cultures, a hostility in keeping with the known facts of life on the frontier in the years before the French and Indian War, when the action of the novel occurs. Therefore Lightfoot is Indian through and through. We never forget our first glimpse of him as a scout for the Catawbas, silently creeping into Greenway Court, the residence of Lord Fairfax, to gather information to be used in a raid, nor his defiant refusal to admit being able to speak English when he is questioned by the "Injun-hating" Captain Wagner.⁵⁴ Because he is so thoroughly Indian and knows that integration into white society is not a realistic alternative, he is destroyed when he must choose between his personal loyalty to and love for Cannie and his larger loyalty to his own people and culture:

A terrible struggle was going on in his breast. All the old instincts of the savage chieftain were aroused within him by the din of the combat . . . His limbs trembled . . . and his glow-

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 323.

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 337.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 28-35.

ing eyes were not directed toward the place of combat. . . . He could take no part against either of the bands, for neither was his foe. He was a Catawba, it is true, but he was also a friend of the whites—a Christian.⁵⁵

Caught between two worlds, Sagamore survives; Lightfoot is destroyed. The death of Lightfoot, the man without a culture, is historically inevitable, for, in the world of the frontier, there was no place for the “Indian-white.” This difference between *Fairfax* and “A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow” in Cooke’s portrayal of the conflict between cultural forces on the Virginia border clearly shows his growth as a writer of historical fiction. It is therefore clear that “A Legend of Turkey Buzzard Hollow” provided Cooke, the youthful writer, a useful exercise in the art of historical fiction; the superiority of *Fairfax* shows how well he learned his lesson.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 373.

Arthur Lionel Stevenson

1902-1973

Rare, indeed, is the man so outstanding in both character and achievement that his influence cannot be diminished by death but continues to live and grow.

Such a man was Arthur Lionel Stevenson, internationally recognized authority on English literature of the Victorian Age, James B. Duke Professor Emeritus of English, Life Member of The Friends of Duke University Library. He died unexpectedly on 21 December 1973 of a heart attack suffered in Vancouver, where he was serving as Distinguished Visiting Professor of English at the University of British Columbia.

Professor Stevenson was the professor of a "goodly heritage." He was born in Edinburgh on 16 July 1902, the son of Henry Stevenson and the former Mabel Rose Cary. (His mother was an aunt of Joyce Cary.) He was christened in historic St. Giles Cathedral. During his fifth year, his family emigrated to British Columbia and settled in a small frontier town forty miles above Victoria. His childhood was filled with unique experiences, and he had looked forward to the time when he would have the leisure to write about them.

His education included the best of the two worlds—innovation and freedom of thought in the New, adherence to worthwhile tradition and stability in the Old. In 1922 he was awarded an A.B. degree from the Uni-

versity of British Columbia; in 1923, an A.M. from the University of Toronto. In August of that year he moved to Berkeley for graduate study at the University of California. In 1925, not yet twenty-three years old, he received his doctorate with a dissertation later published under the title, *Darwin among the Poets*. His first full-time teaching appointment in his long and incomparable academic career was an instructorship in Berkeley in 1925.

Professor Stevenson took two decisive steps in 1930: he became a citizen of the United States, and he accepted a position as professor and chairman of the English department at Arizona State College (now University). In 1933 Arizona, in the throes of the Depression, went bankrupt; for a while it even had to substitute warrants for cash in the payment of salaries. With his present situation gloomy and future uncertain, Lionel Stevenson withdrew his savings and departed for England to study at St. Catherine's Society, Oxford. In 1935 he attained a B.Litt., with a thesis on Lady Morgan directed by D. Nichol Smith. Edmund Blunden and C. S. Lewis were his examiners. Chapman & Hall published his thesis in 1936 as *The Wild Irish Girl, the Life of Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan*. It remains the definitive study of her life and career.

Upon his return to this country, he spent two more years at Arizona State College. In 1937 he became an assistant professor of English at the University of Southern California. His promotion was so rapid that by 1943 he was chairman of the department, a capacity in which he served until 1955.

Two important events came in quick succession.

In 1954 Professor Stevenson was married to Lillian Sprague Jones. She and her young daughter Marietta, now Mrs. David Millet, further enhanced his life with their perception and warmth, charm and gaiety, and graciousness toward ever-widening circles of friends and acquaintances.

He accepted an appointment as James B. Duke Professor of English Literature at Duke University in 1955. From 1964 until 1967 he was chairman of the English department, and he continued as a member until his

retirement in 1972.

To the end of his life, other universities eagerly sought his services. In 1952-53 he held a visiting professorship at the University of Illinois; in 1960-61, lectured at Oxford and was made an honorary member of the Senior Common Room of St. Catherine's College; in 1967-68, was Berg Visiting Professor at New York University; during 1972-73, was a visiting professor at the University of Houston; and in 1973, was asked to hold the first Distinguished Professorship of English at his alma mater, the University of British Columbia. (He was to have delivered the Sedgewick lectures there in the spring of 1974.) In addition, he taught in summer sessions at San Francisco State College, the University of British Columbia, New York University, and the University of Colorado.

As a teacher, Professor Stevenson excelled. Broad and comprehensive in his literary interests, exacting in his standards of scholarship, he directed the following thirty-nine Ph.D. dissertations during his years at Duke:

Charles E. Edge. *Jane Austen's Novels: The Theme of Isolation* 1958

Charles E. Johnson, Jr. *The Dramatic Career of Robert Browning* 1958

Norman James. *Oscar Wilde's Dramaturgy*. 1959

Vereen M. Bell. *Character and Point of View in Representative Victorian Novels*. 1959

Carolyn Herbert Smith. *Journey, Ordeal, Recovery: Metaphoric Patterns in Meredith's Early Prose and Poetry, 1849-1859*. 1960

Robert L. Zimmerman. *Manuscript Revision in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage**. 1960

Leslie F. Chard II. *Wordsworth's Radical Career, 1791-1798*. 1962

George E. McCelvey III. *William Godwin's Novels: Theme and Craft*. 1963

Max Keith Sutton. *Shaping Forces in the Theory and Practice of Victorian Humor*. 1964

William F. Halloran. *William Sharp and Fiona Macleod*. 1964

Richard Michael Kelly. *Douglas Jerrold, Author and Journalist*. 1964

- Frank Jordan, Jr. "The Convenient Tribe"; Scott's Narrators. 1965
- Larry James Kirkpatrick. Elizabeth Bowen and Company. 1965
- John J. Dunn. The Role of Macpherson's Ossian in the Development of British Romanticism. 1965
- Mary Ruth Miller. The Crimean War in British Periodical Literature. 1966
- Ralph Mandell Tutt. Charles Lamb: Author in Search of a Form. 1966
- Arthur McA. Miller. The Last Man: The Eschatological Theme in English Poetry and Fiction, 1806-1839. 1966
- Gerald Bluestone Kauvar. Figurative Relationships in the Poetry of Keats. 1966
- James Robert Belflower, Jr. The Life and Career of Eliza Lynn Linton. 1967
- Jerry Bryan Lincecum. Meredith and the Stream-of-Consciousness Novel. 1967
- Christopher Mead Armitage. Louis MacNeice: A Biographical Account and a Study of His Prose Works. 1967
- Robert Grady Blake. Criticism of Poetry in Selected Victorian Periodicals, 1850-1870. 1968
- James R. Gross. Technique in Thackeray's Later Novels. 1968
- John R. Rosenwald. A Theory of Prosody and Rhythm. 1969
- James W. Applewhite. Wordsworth's Imaginative Use of Place. 1969
- Virginia Kirby-Smith. The Development of Australian Theatre and Drama. 1969
- John M. Cunningham. Byron's Poetics in *Don Juan*. 1969
- Charles W. Bishop. Fire and Fancy: Dickens' Theories of Imagination. 1970
- Larry Kermit Richman. The Theme of Self-Sacrifice in Yeats's Drama. 1970
- Robert P. Felgar III. Browning's Narrative Art. 1970
- W. Styron Harris, Jr. Allegorical Techniques in Charles Kingsley's Novels. 1971

- Robert S. McIlwaine. *The Intellectual Farce of Bernard Shaw.* 1971
- Robert M. DeGraff. "The Implied Author": A Study of Point of View in Selected Novels of George Meredith 1972
- Joseph Leondar Schneider. *W.B. Yeats and the Theatre of Intellectual Reformation.* 1972
- Elizabeth Hughes Locke. *Anthony Trollope and the Novel of Manners.* 1972
- William John Lohman, Jr. *Rudyard Kipling's Experiences and Artistic Rendering of Culture Shock* 1972
- Robert Alan Schueler. *Functions and Purposes of the English Historical Novel in the Nineteenth Century* 1972
- Frances Cole Arndt. *Villette: Another Turn of the Wheel.* 1972
- Terrence L. Grimes. *The Relation of Style and Imagination in Meredith's Novels, 1876-1895.* 1972

He was equally impressive as an author. He did not limit his writings to any one field, in either form or subject matter. His last book, *The Pre-Raphaelite Poets*, was awarded the Mayflower Cup by the Mayflower Society of North Carolina in December 1973.

His other books include:

- Appraisals of Canadian Literature* 1926
- A Pool of Stars* (poetry) 1926
- Darwin among the Poets* 1932
- The Rose of the Sea* (poetry) 1932
- The Wild Irish Girl* 1936
- Doctor Quicksilver: The Life of Charles Lever* 1939
- The Showman of Vanity Fair: The Life of William Makepeace Thackeray* 1947
- English Literature of the Victorian Period* (with John D. Cooke) 1949
- The Ordeal of George Meredith* 1953
- The English Novel: A Panorama* 1960
- History of the English Novel: Yesterday and After* 1967

He also write numerous articles, and in 1964 edited

Victorian Fiction, A Guide to Research.

As a bibliophile, Professor Stevenson was most generous: in 1964 he presented the William R. Perkins Library with the fine collection now known as the Stevenson Collection of Canadiana. He began to accumulate books while he was still a schoolboy; his early acquisitions form the nucleus of this collection. During his student days at the universities of British Columbia and Toronto, he continued to enrich it with the works of Canadian authors. It is significant that by 1926 his library was large enough in scope to suffice as the basis of his *Appraisals of Canadian Literature*. Today the Stevenson Collection consists of more than five hundred titles, primarily in the fields of poetry and fiction, but also in those of literary criticism, drama, essays, history, and travel. Almost all are first editions, published in Canada, many of them are the writers' presentation copies to Professor Stevenson. Major authors who are particularly well represented include Bliss Carman, Frederick William Grove, Wilson MacDonald, E. J. Pratt, Charles G. D. Roberts, and Duncan Campbell Scott. A large number of the writers are not well known outside Canada, and it is probable that their publications are not to be found in any other library in the United States. The collection, noteworthy in both size and content, has brought Perkins Library into that small circle of libraries strong in Canadian studies.

Increasingly, honors and responsibilities came to Professor Stevenson. He was elected in 1951 as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature, in 1960-61 as a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellow. From 1948 until 1973 he was chairman of the editorial committee of the Borestone Mountain Awards; between 1965 and 1973, a member of the advisory committee of the International Association of Professors of English. In fact, over the years he held first one office and then another in various learned societies.

After he came to Duke, the Library always stood high on his list of priorities. He served on the executive committee of The Friends of Duke University Library periodically; was a member of the Duke University

Library Council from 1962 to 1965, the last year as chairman; and was so closely associated with the building program of the Perkins Library that he was the logical choice as chairman of the committee that planned the April 1970 dedication ceremonies.

Nineteenth-Century Literary Perspectives: Essays in Honor of Lionel Stevenson, edited by Clyde de L. Ryals with the assistance of John Clubbe and Benjamin Franklin Fisher IV, is a *festschrift* that was designed to honor Professor Stevenson at the time of his retirement from Duke University. While the book was in press, friends and colleagues were saddened to receive the news of his death.

Centuries ago Robert Whittinton wrote a description of Sir Thomas More that is wholly applicable to Arthur Lionel Stevenson. He, too, was a man of wit and singular learning, of gentleness and affability, "a man for all seasons."

—E.J.E.

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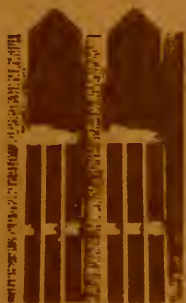
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September 1976

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LIBRARY NOTES



DUKE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY • DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

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Contributors

Damon D. Hickey, reference librarian at Guilford College, North Carolina, was Acting Secretary of the Friends and Curator of Rare Books from September 1973 through May 1974.

David K. Jackson is author of *Poe and the Southern Literary Messenger*, *American Studies in Honor of William Kenneth Boyd*, among other studies and articles.

Mattie U. Russell is Curator of Manuscripts in the William R. Perkins Library.

John A. Stevenson (Duke, A.B. 1975) won first prize in the Lionel Stevenson Essay Contest with his essay *The Viewer's Eye*. The contest is sponsored biennially by the Friends of the Library and Mrs. Lillian Stevenson Pollock, the widow of Professor Stevenson.

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Benjamin Edward Powell

Benjamin Edward Powell

University Librarian, 1946-1975

As a junior in Trinity College in 1924, Dr. Powell began his library career as a student assistant; it was during the fall of that year that Trinity College became Duke University. He continued to work as an assistant in the library until his graduation from Duke in 1926. After graduation he spent one year teaching and coaching athletics at Bethel High School, North Carolina, before returning to a full-time position in the University Library at Duke. He soon became head of the Circulation Department, where he remained until 1929 when he went to Columbia University to study library science. While at Columbia he worked part-time in the reference department of New York Public Library. He received his library science degree in 1930 and returned to Duke to head both the Circulation and Reference Departments. In 1934-1935 he took a leave of absence to attend the Graduate Library School at the University of Chicago. Returning to Duke in 1935, he remained only two years before accepting the position of acting librarian at the University of Missouri. The following year he was appointed head librarian there. While at Missouri he completed the requirements for a Ph.D. degree in library science at Chicago. The degree was awarded in 1946, and in the same year he returned to Duke as university librarian.

In addition to heading the libraries of two universities, Dr. Powell's contributions to the library profession are numerous: he has served on many boards and committees, often as chairman; he has been president of several associations, including the American Library Association from 1959 to 1960; and he has taught several semesters in the School of Library Science at the University of North Carolina. In 1963, he and thirteen other American librarians visited by invitation the Federal Republic of Germany for a four-week tour. His writings have appeared in the *ALA Bulletin*, *College & Research Libraries*, *Library Journal*, *Missouri Library Association Quarterly*, *Southeastern Librarian*, and the *Wilson Library Bulletin*.

During the administration of Dr. Powell the Duke University Library has been greatly expanded. The General Library, designated as the William R. Perkins Library in 1970, has been enlarged twice, more than tripling the space of the original building. Major expansions have also been made in the Divinity School Library and the departmental libraries. The staff has more than tripled in number, and the holdings are several times the size they were in 1946 when the volumes in all the libraries at Duke numbered around 875,000. Now the total is in excess of 2.6 million volumes. The manuscript collection alone has grown from about 975,000 items to a least 4.5 million.

A primary characteristic of Dr. Powell's administration has been the emphasis on developing the resources of the library. He has welcomed and encouraged faculty and alumni participation in this endeavor, and has been one of the staunchest supporters of The Friends of the Library. He realizes that The Friends give support and encouragement in countless ways that not only enhance the holdings of the library but also contribute to the atmosphere of good will and friendliness that he has always sought to maintain within the library and between the library and its public.

An essential ingredient of the Duke University Library, as of any other research library, is its special collections. A number of these were acquired during Dr. Powell's administration. Among the more notable are the Frank Baker Collection of Wesleyana and British Methodism, the Kenneth Willis Clark Collection of Greek Manuscripts, the Mary and Harry L. Dalton Collection, and the Mazzoni Collection of Italian Lit-

erature. The Flowers Collection of Southern Americana—the largest special collection in the library, and the Trent Collection of Walt Whitman have their beginnings in earlier administrations, but they continued to grow in significance under Dr. Powell's administration.

Another area in which Dr. Powell's influence will be lasting is the several endowment funds that have been established through his encouragement for purchasing special kinds of library materials.

In their desire to honor Dr. Powell, the staff of the University Library recommended that the Library Endowment Fund be named the Benjamin Edward Powell Library Endowment Fund, a tribute in keeping with his efforts for continuing support of the library. The Board of Trustees of the University concurred and approved the recommendation, and at a reception honoring Dr. and Mrs. Powell, the action of the Board was announced. In addition, his friends and colleagues contributed nearly \$13,000 to the Endowment to honor him upon his retirement and as a tribute to his concern for the development of a major research collection in the Southeast.

Mattie U. Russell

The Friends of Duke University Library—A Short History

Damon D. Hickey

The 1930s were not an auspicious decade for a southern university to launch a bold venture to transform the library of a small Methodist college into a graduate and research institution. Through the establishment of the Duke Endowment in 1924 and the bequest of James B. Duke upon his death on October 10, 1925, Trinity had become Duke University. The institution needed a library of more than 75,000 volumes,¹ so, as it entered the 1930s, the new southern university began to use its boomtime endowment to build a library—the new library building was dedicated on September 24, 1930, on a new campus²—and to increase its collection at depression prices.

Volunteer support was also needed, for not even the endowment itself could build a collection to rival those of the great libraries of the North and West; not one of the 35 American libraries having more than a half million volumes a piece was to be found in the South. So in 1930 an organization called the Associates of Duke University Library was formed under the leadership of William K. Boyd, professor of history and

¹ Interview with Benjamin E. Powell, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina, 13 February 1975.

² Joseph Penn Breédlove, "Duke University Library, 1840-1940," *Library Notes*, no. 30 (April 1955), p. 33.

director of libraries. The Associates purposed "to promote the development of libraries through voluntary contributions, and to create a larger interest among alumni and friends in improving the book collections." But the organization ceased to function when Professor Boyd resigned as director of libraries and returned to his duties in the history department.³

In 1935 the Associates was resurrected as The Friends of Duke University Library. Walter A. Stanbury, a local Methodist minister, university trustee, and divinity school professor, became chairman of the steering committee. Professor Harvie Branscomb, newly appointed to succeed Boyd as director of libraries, was made secretary and executive officer. Other members of the committee were Charles F. Lambeth, James A. Thomas, William W. Flowers, Henry R. Dwire, Paull F. Baum, and William K. Boyd.⁴ Branscomb wrote letters to prospective members, inviting them to assist the library by joining The Friends. The goal, he stated, was "to build up a library here in the university comparable to the great libraries of the North and West." He continued,

The obligations of membership are not to be stated in financial terms. You may help us by contributions of money, by building up small collections on particular subjects, by gifts of manuscripts or letters which may be in your family, by helping us to secure private libraries of note, and in many other ways. To make sure that the membership will be an active group of supporters, a minimum contribution of one volume a year is expected from all those who have not assisted us in other respects.⁵

Branscomb also announced the inauguration of two institutions that have continued to the present: the annual dinner meeting and *Library Notes*.⁶ The first dinner was held in the Duke Union on November 12, 1935, with about two hundred people present to hear Douglas S. Freeman, the editor of *Richmond News-Leader*; he spoke about the poverty of Southern libraries and the riches of Southern literature. Boyd, Branscomb, and Duke president William P. Few also spoke briefly.⁷

³ *ibid.*, p. 36.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 41.

⁵ Harvie Branscomb, Typed Letter signed, 22 October 1935, Files of The Friends of Duke University Library.

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ "November Meeting," *Library Notes*, I, 1 (March 1936), 2.

The first issue of *Library Notes: A Bulletin Issued for the Friends of Duke University Library* appeared in March 1936. The second issue, which appeared in October of the same year, contained an article "The South's Need of Libraries"; it was unsigned but probably written by Branscomb. In it the author stated once again the plight of Southern libraries and emphasized the three goals of the Duke Library: increasing the size of the collection, inaugurating a Southern network for interlibrary loan, and coöperating with the University of North Carolina in loans and collection development.⁸ The article was reprinted and given wide distribution.

Friends activities during the decade 1935-1945 were modest. The Depression and World War II together combined to limit new income and personnel. In addition several internal administrative changes interrupted the continuity of library leadership. When the university library was formed by the consolidation of the several libraries of the Trinity College literary societies in the late 1880s, a senior student had been placed in charge of the library each year until 1898 when Joseph Penn Breedlove became university librarian. He supervised all campus libraries until the new facility was opened in 1930.⁹ Before occupying the new facilities, the president appointed Professor Boyd to the position of director of libraries, and Breedlove remained as the librarian.¹⁰ Professor Boyd served as director of libraries until 1934 when he was replaced by Professor Branscomb.

In 1940 John J. Lund became the first professional librarian to serve as university librarian—the position director of libraries was discontinued. Professor Branscomb returned to his teaching position in the divinity school and Mr. Breedlove became librarian emeritus.¹¹ The resignation of Lund in 1943 left the library once again without an administrator. Breedlove returned from semi-retirement to become acting university librarian until 1946 when Benjamin E. Powell was appointed university librarian.¹²

⁸ "The South's Need of Libraries," pp. 1-2.

⁹ Breedlove, p. 33.

¹⁰ Susan Hout Brinn, "Joseph Penn Breedlove, Librarian at Duke University: His Approach to Library Administration" (M.S.L.S. research paper, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1973), pp. 30-32.

¹¹ "The Appointment of Dr. Lund," *Library Notes*, no. 7 (February 1940), p. 2.

¹² "J. P. Breedlove Serving as University Librarian," *Library Notes*, no. 13 (June 1943), p. 4.

In the unsettled period prior to 1946, The Friends managed several accomplishments. In 1943 Dr. and Mrs. Josiah C. Trent presented to the library an extensive collection of Walt Whitman manuscripts, books, pictures, and memorabilia.¹³ Around this important gift, the development of a rare book collection, in a rare book room, began in earnest. Attracted to Duke by this gift were two eminent poets, Carl Sandburg, who spoke at the annual meeting of The Friends in 1943,¹⁴ and Robert Frost, who visited in 1945.¹⁵ Between 1943 and 1945, however, there were no meetings of The Friends and no issues of *Library Notes*.

The end of the war in 1945 marked a new beginning for The Friends. *Library Notes* resumed publication in April. The December issue announced several changes in the Friends organization, including the formation of a new executive committee composed of four members of the faculty, four members from the library staff, and four townspeople. Of the original executive committee, only former chairman Walter A. Stanbury remained. The chairmanship was transferred to the university librarian, an *ex officio* member. As the criterion for membership, the original organization set an average of at least one book a year. With the reorganization, five classes of membership were distinguished, beginning with five dollars a year for members and going up to one hundred dollars for patrons.¹⁶ For the first time, donors of large sums (later set at one thousand dollars or more) were honored by election to life membership. A program committee was established under the chairmanship of the Rev. George B. Ehlhardt, the divinity school librarian, who played a large part in reviving the Friends organization. A three-member editorial committee was named to oversee publications.¹⁷ *Library Notes* was expanded from its format as a newsletter to become a journal which included scholarly articles about the library's collections.

As university librarian, Powell became *ex officio* chairman

¹³ "The Rare Book Room with the Trent Collection," *Library Notes*, no. 13 (June 1943), pp. 2-3.

¹⁴ "Annual Meeting of the Friends of the Library," *Library Notes*, no. 13 (June 1943), pp. 2-3.

¹⁵ *Library Notes*, no. 14 (April 1943), pp. 1-3.

¹⁶ "The Friends of Duke University Library," *Library Notes*, no. 15 (December 1945), pp. 1-3.

¹⁷ Friends of Duke University Library, Minutes of the Executive Committee, 25 May 1946. (Typewritten).

of The Friends executive committee. At the meeting of The Friends on October 12, 1946, he announced an appropriation by the Library Council of one thousand dollars for Friends activities. At the same meeting, there was also proposed a student book collectors' contest which was to become, with some irregularity, an annual event for the organization.¹⁸ Although the original proposal was for one prize to be given for the best book collection and another for the best collection of phonograph records, the committee voted at the next meeting to give both prizes to collectors of books. The contest was never broadened to include nonprint materials.¹⁹

Another concern to emerge at the February 25 meeting was the need for a campus bookstore. From 1947 until 1956, the librarian and members of the executive committee repeatedly urged the university administration to include such a facility in its plans and to insure that it was operated by a competent bookman.²⁰ It was not until 1956 when the Gothic Bookshop was opened in Flowers that this aim was realized, thanks to the persistence of The Friends.

The executive committee of the late 1940s and early '50s operated through several permanent committees. George B. Ehlhardt chaired the program committee and Ellen Frances Frey (later Mrs. A. S. Limouze), curator of rare books, reported for the editorial committee. The undergraduate committee, represented by Professor Frances C. Brown and later by Professor Lewis Patton, supervised the student book collector awards and pressed for a campus bookstore for students. Gertrude Merritt, head of the processing department (now Associate University Librarian for Collection Development), reported on gifts and donations.²¹ After Miss Frey's departure from the staff in 1948, assistant librarian Robert Christ became chairman of the editorial committee and secretary, followed by the curator of rare books Thomas M. Simkins, Jr. (secretary), and assistant librarian Carlyle J. Frarey (editorial chairman) in 1952.²² Two trends became clear: library staff members on the executive committee supervised the work of the

¹⁸ Friends, Minutes, 12 October 1946.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 25 February 1947.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 31 May 1947, 30 November 1950, 26 October 1951, 10 March 1952, 4 December 1952, 2 December 1953, 5 November 1954.

²¹ *ibid.*, 26 May 1945-3 October 1956.

²² *ibid.*, 29 October 1948, 18 January 1952, 4 December 1952.

committees insuring a degree of continuity, and the secretary's responsibilities were added to the duties of the curator of rare books.

At the January 8, 1952, meeting of the executive committee Dr. Powell suggested that it was time for the election of a nonlibrarian to the chairmanship, "an alumnus, preferably, who is not attached to the library or the university in any official capacity. Such leadership should increase the effectiveness of The Friends in their activities directed toward development of the library."²³ Looking back twenty years later, Powell commented,

It's very inappropriate for the librarian to be chairman . . . you have a selfish interest in it. . . . It seems to me an organization such as The Friends would have more appeal and would likely encourage more people to support it if its efforts are directed by someone not on the campus. A member of the faculty, a librarian, a curator, or an administrator actively working on the campus would have such a selfish interest in the eyes of anybody, and is so closely associated with the other fund-raising activities of the university, that I don't think he could be as effective as Lamparter, who as a businessman, an alumnus, has an interest in the university, and is not a part of the university. He's just dedicated to improving it. . . . A person in his capacity and his position outside, giving time and attention and leadership to an organization . . . would encourage more people in like positions to participate than would, say, the university librarian or a member of the faculty. . . . Mary Semans was chairman for a good many years and . . . more interest was demonstrated while she was chairman than had been earlier.²⁴

Mary Duke Biddle Trent (later Semans) became chairman in 1952 and served for twelve years, the longest chairmanship in the history of the organization.²⁵

Under Mrs. Semans's chairmanship, The Friends continued the course set in the latter 1940s. The permanent committees continued their work. The contest for student book collectors came and went and came again. *Library Notes* followed a regular format, including one or more scholarly articles related to the collection and a section on news of the library. Distinguished speakers addressed the annual dinner meetings.²⁶

²³ *ibid.*, 18 January 1952.

²⁴ Powell, Interview.

²⁵ Friends, Minutes, 30 April 1952.

²⁶ *ibid.*, 4 December 1952-6 January 1964; and *Library Notes*, nos. 27 (April 1953)-38 (April 1964).

In the 1960s, the formal structure of the executive committee underwent a change. The curator of rare books became permanent secretary, as an official function of his job.²⁷ Members of the executive committee, who had been appointed or elected from time to time as vacancies arose or as likely candidates presented themselves, were divided into five rotating classes of five members each. A class was to be replaced each year, beginning in 1962, by election of a slate selected by the committee and ratified by the members of The Friends at the annual dinner meeting. The chairman was elected by the committee each fall and was eligible for reelection as long as his or her term on the committee had not expired.²⁸ Harry L. Dalton became chairman in 1964; he was followed by Thad Stem, Jr., in 1966, Ralph Earle, Jr., in 1969, and William S. Lamparter in 1971.²⁹ During this period the permanent committees, except for the editorial committee, were replaced by ad-hoc interim committees. The number of library staff members on the executive committee declined as the new system was implemented.

In 1967 John L. Sharpe III became curator of rare books and secretary of the executive committee, replacing Daniel F. McGrath who had served in both capacities since 1964.³⁰ Sharpe, who received his doctorate in religion from Duke, is a New Testament textual scholar. During his tenure the Rare Book Room has continued to increase its substantial collection of ancient Greek and Latin manuscripts, largely through the generosity of Harry Dalton, Kenneth Clark, and William H. Willis. Sharpe, as a member of The Friends editorial committee, was involved in changing the makeup of *Library Notes*. In 1965, the Friends had begun publication of *Marginal Notes: An Interim Newsletter* that was intended to supplement the "News of the Library" in *Library Notes*.³¹ Beginning in 1971, *Library Notes* became entirely a journal of articles related to the library and its collections and was published less fre-

²⁷ Friends, Minutes, 6 January 1964.

²⁸ *ibid.*, 21 November 1961; and "New Members of the Executive Committee," *Library Notes*, no. 36 (December 1962), p. 18.

²⁹ Friends, Minutes, 6 January 1964, 17 November 1966, 14 October 1969, 19 November 1971.

³⁰ "Appointment of Curator of Rare Books," *Marginal Notes*, no. 5 (December 1967).

³¹ *Marginal Notes*, no. 1 (1965?).

³² Friends, Minutes, 19 November 1971.

quently than before.³² *Marginal Notes* was to have taken over the newsletter function, but its publication lapsed after 1972. Dr. Sharpe and Esther Evans also edited two special issues of *Library Notes*, entitled *Gnomon: Essays for the Dedication of the William R. Perkins Library* (1970) and *The Dedication of the William R. Perkins Library: Proceedings* (1971), the occasion for which is discussed below.

Two important milestones were reached in 1969 and 1970. The Duke University Library was presented with its two-millionth and two-millionth-and-first volume at the Friends dinner on April 17, 1969. An incunabulum, Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* (1476), was donated by university trustee Thomas L. Perkins. The Fourth Folio of Shakespeare's works was the gift of Harry L. Dalton.³³ On the two days following the dinner of April 14, 1970, the university dedicated the second major addition to its library, renaming the entire facility the William R. Perkins Library in memory of the author of the Duke Indenture. The dedication ceremony featured L. Quincy Mumford, Librarian of Congress, and Julian P. Boyd, former Princeton University librarian and editor of the Thomas Jefferson papers.³⁴ Both Mumford and Boyd had been Duke classmates in the 1920s and had served on The Friends executive committee from 1964 to 1969.³⁵

The executive committee chairmanship of William S. Lamparter, which began in 1971, took The Friends in new directions. Lamparter, a Duke alumnus and vice-president of Century Furniture Company, sought a more visible and active role for the organization. In conjunction with the Duke Office of Development, he persuaded the executive committee to launch a Friends Endowment Fund campaign to raise \$250,000 by 1975.³⁶ By the spring of 1974, gifts and pledges of \$67,699 had been received, with tentative commitments bringing the total to \$83,699.³⁷ In a letter to the membership,

³³ *ibid.*, 14 October 1969; and Paul Meyvaert, "The Duke Pliny," *Library Notes*, no. 42 (February 1971), pp. 23-24.

³⁴ John L. Sharpe III and Esther Evans, eds., *The Dedication of the William R. Perkins Library: Proceedings, April 15-16, 1970* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Library, 1971), pp. 1-3.

³⁵ "Elections," *Library Notes*, no. 39 (April 1965), p. 25.

³⁶ Friends, Minutes, 16 February 1973.

³⁷ "Report of the Acting Secretary of the Executive Committee to The Friends of Duke University Library, Prepared for the Annual Dinner Meeting," 10 April 1974. (Typewritten.)

published in the December 1973 issue of *Library Notes*, Lamparter urged consideration of establishing corporate memberships in the organization and the employment of a full-time librarian to coördinate and promote Friends activities.³⁸ He supported the establishment of a special category of membership for Duke students,³⁹ to which eighty-six responded, following a 1974 mail solicitation.⁴⁰ A student member was also added to the executive committee in the same year.⁴¹ During Lamparter's term, annual dues were increased to fifteen dollars (student dues were set at five).⁴²

In 1975 The Friends of Duke University Library entered its fifth decade, as the university entered its sixth as a university, and as Benjamin Powell retired at the end of his third decade as university librarian. The public recognition of these three anniversaries came at the annual spring dinner meeting on March 26 at which Dr. Powell was the principal speaker, the first member of the library staff to be so honored. The University Librarian was presented with life membership in The Friends. Following the dinner, guests greeted the Powells at a champagne reception in the library.

The spring dinner, more than anything else, has preserved over the years the distinctive atmosphere of The Friends. The annual dinner is, according to Powell, the one social event for friends of the university whose interest is more literary than athletic. It represents what he sees The Friends always to have been, an informal group of Duke people who are concerned about books and the library, who work together quietly, behind the scenes, with little publicity, and who "spread the word" to interest others in the support of the library.⁴³ It provides an option to the university's more aggressive campaigns to raise money. It is an opportunity for people to come together and to give because they genuinely want to.

The nature of gifts to The Friends and to the library has remained very much the same over four decades. Unlike some other friends groups the Duke Friends has never sought to

³⁸ William S. Lamparter, "A Letter from the Chairman of the Executive Committee," *Library Notes*, no. 44 (December 1973), pp. 35-38.

³⁹ Friends, Minutes, 16 February 1973.

⁴⁰ "Membership," *Marginal Notes*, no. 10 (May 1974).

⁴¹ "New Executive Committee Members," *Marginal Notes*, no. 10 (May 1974).

⁴² Friends, Minutes, 16 February 1973.

⁴³ Powell, Interview.

provide the basic support for the library.⁴⁴ Generous budgetary allocations have provided for current acquisitions, and supplementary funds from the Duke Endowment have been used to purchase less essential items. Not until the economic recession and inflation of the 1970s combined to force budgetary reductions for the first time was Duke's library unable to find the money it needed to increase, or even maintain, its level of acquisitions.⁴⁵ The Friends Endowment Fund campaign of 1971 was designed specifically to make available "to the Librarian the income generated therefrom for the purchase of *desiderata* which might not otherwise be obtainable."⁴⁶

Rare books and manuscripts, especially rare books, have been the departments to benefit most by the generosity of The Friends, although in the 1930s when Duke was endeavoring to build a basic research collection, more of the gifts may have been for less exotic items. The original charter of the organization indicates a continuation of the pattern of the Associates under Boyd from 1930 to 1934. A membership list was to be reviewed at regular intervals, "and all members who have not in the interim made contributions will be asked to donate certain suggested titles which will place their names in good standing," in order to "enlist the interest of the friends in building up certain collections and thus assisting us to a far greater extent than one volume per year."⁴⁷ In some instances, these additions were extraordinarily expensive items that the university administration may have been reluctant to finance but that were seen by the library director as important for a good research collection.

The creation of life memberships in 1945 provided a means for recognizing donors of gifts worth more than one thousand dollars or, in a few cases, people who had made significant voluntary contributions of time and talent. Such gifts were not always the result of interest in The Friends. Some, however, were. Harry L. Dalton, a businessman who has been active in

⁴⁴ Barbara Turner List, "The Friends of the University of North Carolina Library, 1932-1962" (M.S.L.S. thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1965), abstract.

⁴⁵ Friends, Minutes, 21 September 1973.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 16 February 1973.

⁴⁷ The Friends of Duke University Library, Proposed Constitution and Recommendations (1935-36). Files of The Friends of Duke University Library. The original document is printed at the end of this article.

The Friends since 1945, contributed rare Dickensiana, an Oscar Wilde collection, biblical and classical manuscripts, incunabula, and other outstanding gifts. Several other life members were also involved in The Friends as members of the executive committee before they made large gifts, while still others were elected to the committee after they became life members. The significant contributions from both groups include Wesleyana and British Methodist materials from Professor Frank Baker, the John Buchan Collection from Professor Frances C. Brown, published editions of Duke authors from Professor William M. Blackburn, biblical manuscripts and the Manx Collection from Professor Kenneth W. Clark, the Roosevelt Collection from Professor Frank DeVyver, British history materials from Professor William B. Hamilton, the Utopia Collection from Professor Glenn R. Negley, Canadiana from Professor Lionel Stevenson, and the Trent Collection.

No group is so broadly representative of an academic library's public as its friends organization. Librarians, faculty, staff, administration, alumni, book people, special donors, visiting scholars, and townspeople all impinge at various points on the library and its policy making. Only in a friends organization are they all represented.

A friends of the library organization is not set up to be a pan-university council that advises and plans the policies and activities of the library. As a formal power structure, it is of negligible importance. Yet it is potentially one of the most influential and valuable groups available to the library administrator, not only for funds, materials, and good will, but also as a channel of communication from and to the groups represented by its membership, for "testing the wind" on major policy issues, and for futhering the library's educational and cultural function.

The Friends of Duke University Library has only partially realized this potential. Like any other voluntary organization, it is difficult to maintain and expand without a significant investment of money and staff time. Duke has been modest in its investment, providing a small operating budget and a portion of an existing library staff member's work time.

Nevertheless there can be little doubt that, as a force for

good will in public relations, The Friends of Duke University Library has been a major success. Ralph H. Hopp has suggested that a friends group is more likely to be successful if it aims at stimulating "good will on behalf of the university and the library,"⁴⁸ than if its goal is primarily fund-raising. Good will has apparently been the main objective of Benjamin E. Powell in respect to The Friends, and his success is evident. The organization has also undoubtedly been responsible for many contributions of money and materials to the library during its first forty years, even if the extent of its influence is not altogether clear. The Friends of Duke University Library has been fortunate, as has the library, in the continuity and steady dedication of its leadership and in the generosity of its members. Through its publications and activities, furthermore, it has never been merely a social club or fund-raising organization, but has promoted the expansion of knowledge and the active cultivation of the critical intellect that is the goal of the academic enterprise.

⁴⁸ Ralph H. Hopp, "Private and Industrial Funds for University Libraries," *College and Research Libraries*, 23 (November 1962), 513.

Programs by Guest Speakers and Artists For The Friends of Duke University Library, 1935-1975

12 November 1935	Douglas Southall Freeman, editor, <i>Richmond News-Leader</i>
11 November 1936	Christopher Morley, author
7 April 1938	Carl Van Doren, editor and author
27 March 1940	Newman Ivey White, professor of English, Duke University
	Frederic Moir Hanes, professor of medicine, Duke University
12 April 1943	Carl Sandburg, poet
	E. Sculley Bradley, professor of English, University of Pennsylvania
14 March 1945	Robert Frost, poet
May 1945	Clare Leighton, artist
19 November 1945	Julian P. Boyd, librarian, Princeton University
22 October 1946	Luther Evans, Librarian of Congress
27 February 1947	Robert Frost, poet
19 March 1947	Chauncey B. Tinker, keeper of rare books, Yale University Library
21 November 1947	Louis A. Warren, director, Lincoln National Life Foundation
26 February 1948	William Warren Sweet, professor of the history of American Christianity, University of Chicago
8 April 1949	Frederick B. Adams, Jr., director, Pierpont Morgan Library
21 October 1949	Norman Cousins, editor, <i>Saturday Review</i>
16 February 1950	Archbishop Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, Metropolitan of Jerusalem
15 April 1951	George Arents, collector
7 May 1952	James T. Babb, librarian, Yale University
8 May 1953	E. Millicent Sowerby, bibliographer, Jefferson Collection, Library of Congress
29 April 1954	Lawrence Clark Powell, librarian, University of California at Los Angeles
14 April 1955	Malcolm Cowley, author and literary historian
7 May 1956	John Malcolm Brinnin, director, Poetry Center, New York City
25 April 1957	William Kaye Lamb, National Librarian of Canada

11 April 1958	Frank Moore Cross, Jr., professor of Old Testament, Harvard Divinity School
5 May 1959	Max Lerner, professor of American civilization, Brandeis University
28 April 1960	Verner W. Clapp, president, Council on Library Resources, Inc.
7 November 1960	Boyd Alexander, editor, William Beckford Papers
27 April 1961	John Ciardi, poetry editor, <i>Saturday Review</i>
26 April 1962	David C. Mearns, chief, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress
25 April 1963	George Healey, professor of English and curator of rare books, Cornell University
14 May 1964	Giles Edwin Dawson, curator of rare books and manuscripts, Folger Shakespeare Library
29 April 1965	Frank G. Slaughter, author
28 April 1966	Reynolds Price, author and assistant professor of English, Duke University
9 May 1968	A. N. L. Munby, librarian, King's College, Cambridge
17 April 1969	Frances Gray Patton, author
14 April 1970	Dan M. Lacy, vice president, McGraw-Hill Book Company
14 April 1971	Willie Morris, former editor, <i>Harper's</i>
13 April 1972	Carolyn Kizer, poet-in-residence, University of North Carolina
3 April 1973	Angier Biddle Duke, former U. S. ambassador
10 April 1974	G. Alexander Heard, chancellor, Vanderbilt University
1 October 1974	O. B. Hardison, Jr., director, Folger Shakespeare Library
26 March 1975	Benjamin E. Powell, university librarian, Duke University
6 April 1976	George Scheer, author and publisher

Proposed Constitution of The Friends of the Library in 1935

1. An organization to be called Friends of Duke University Library (or some similar title) is to be set up, the purpose of which is to aid and support the Library in every way possible.

2. Membership will be open to all who are interested in the purposes of the organization. Trustees of the University, members of the faculty, alumni, members of each year's graduating class, and certain other groups should be invited especially to become members. Individuals who have rendered conspicuous service to the Library will be enrolled as honorary members.
3. The organization shall be as simple as possible. A directing committee of five friends of the Library will be asked to sponsor the organization and be in charge of its general direction. One member of the committee will be asked to serve as chairman. The responsibility for carrying on the work of the organization will rest upon the Director of Libraries.
4. In order that the organization may enlist the support of those of moderate means as well as others, the obligation of membership will be to donate to the Library an average of at least one book a year or to assist the Library in other ways.

The actual operation of this plan would be as follows: Certain classes of books and materials, such as American biography or history, manuscripts and letters of historical, literary, or economic interest, will always be welcome, and members will be advised of these general classes and may send such material on their own initiative whenever they secure it. Where members would like to donate volumes from their own libraries outside of these general classes, it is suggested that they send a list of the titles available, so that the Library may select those which do not duplicate its own holdings. It will also be suggested that members choose certain authors or special subjects which they would be especially interested in developing for us, and the Library will supply to such individuals information which will guide them in developing these fields or subjects most usefully.

Apart from these special classes or particular interests, however, it is proposed that volumes be donated at the suggestion of the Library. This is because the Library can purchase current volumes more economically than can individuals and can also avoid duplications more easily.

The record of all members and their contributions in one form or another will be kept. At stated intervals this list will be studied and all members who have not in the interim made contributions will be asked to donate certain suggested titles which will place their names in good standing. After the organization is well started, such requests will probably be made about every two years. This will reduce the costs of operation of the plan considerably.

This plan is proposed because (1) our friends can often help us more effectively by securing valuable material or interesting others in the Library than by contributions of money, (2) it is

difficult to collect monetary dues, (3) the alternative of having no dues would mean that many individuals would enroll without serious interest in the Library, (4) members would like to know at least the minimum responsibilities they are assuming, and (5) it is hoped that this method will enlist the interest of the friends in building up certain collections and thus in assisting us to a far greater extent than one volume per year.

5. Since the primary objective of the organization is to interest alumni and other friends in what the Library is doing and planning, it is proposed that a bulletin be prepared and sent out once or twice a year. The Annual Library Report will also be sent to all members. There should also be held annually at the University a "Library dinner" which shall be planned to be promotional only to a limited degree and should be of interest primarily from a literary standpoint.

Recommendations

Supplementary to the Proposed Constitution, 1936

1. That the general administration and direction of the organization be in the hands of the committee proposed in paragraph Four of the original memorandum; and that the chairman of this executive committee act as the official representative of the organization, and with the members of the committee decide all general policies (such as the basis of membership in the organization), select the speaker and the date for the annual dinner, contribute material for *Library Notes*, etc.
2. That the Librarian act as permanent secretary and treasurer of the organization, keeping the records of membership, gifts, and financial accounts, making the arrangements and sending out notices for the annual dinner, arranging for the publication of *Library Notes*, etc.
3. That Dr. Branscomb be appointed chairman of the Executive Committee and that he appoint the other members. (The membership of the original committee was as follows: W. A. Stanbury, C. F. Lambeth, J. A. Thomas, W. W. Flowers, H. R. Dwire, P. F. Baum, W. K. Boyd, and H. Branscomb.)

The Viewer's Eye

an Essay

John A. Stevenson

There is something very wrong with the film *Last Tango in Paris* and it has nothing to do with the exposure of skin or the performance of unnatural acts. It has everything to do with the way these matters—and the rest of the dramatic action of the film—are treated. When I saw the movie for the first time, I made a comment which I feared might be a little pat and probably an injustice to the film. I said, "It takes a special talent to make a film that includes suicide, murder, sodomy, and rape and still have it be dull." After seeing the film again recently, I find I must stick by my original conclusion. *Last Tango* may indeed represent a turning point in the history of film but the turn is down.

In his writing class, Reynolds Price hypothesizes a similar turn in the history of the novel. According to Price, after World War I, with the appearance of novels like *Ulysses* and *Remembrance of Things Past*, narrative turned away from the kinds of material that had sustained it and made it popular in the nineteenth century. Instead, by trying to tackle experience in a more complicated fashion, the novel began to remove itself from its audience. The *how* of the story began to dominate the *why* and the *what* in ways that had never concerned Austen or Tolstoy.

As Price points out, the result is simple: people stopped reading novels. No crowds line up to buy the latest by Pyn-

chon as they had once queued up to get *Nicholas Nickleby* or *Oliver Twist*. The audience shrank from the literate to the superliterate: you needed a graduate course in Joyce—or at least Stuart Gilbert by your bedside—if you wanted to plod through *Ulysses*. Provided you had that much interest—or stamina—to start with. None of which is to say that Joyce or those he has influenced are not great artists. It is to say that the novel quite often these days seems to have forgotten that it might be read by someone other than the writer's friends or by an assortment of highly trained graduate students.

I fear Bertolucci has fallen in much the same kind of trap, if not the same trap. His sin is not that of story sacrificed to technique or stylistic innovation. Rather the filmmaker has succeeded too well in, not capturing, but *recreating* the dullness he finds apparent in the modern condition. Once audiences tire of the sight of Maria Schneider's breasts or Marlon Brando's disquisitions on porcine intercourse, they will likely just not go to such movies. Art may be long but notoriety is brief. *Ulysses* was much more interesting to the mass of readers under ban of law. Ten years from now or twenty, Pauline Kael and John Simon may be showering their praise on the heirs of *Last Tango* but they may also be the only ones in the theater.

The problem with *Last Tango in Paris* is certainly not one of intelligence or craft. It had more of those qualities than most films that appear. The point, though, is not the presence of intelligence or craft but the ends to which they are directed. Bertolucci has used his gifts and skills to create a fabric textured of images in which he *involves* us so that we seem to live the hours that the movie is before us, live them in the petty sordidness and cheap monotony that the filmmaker makes us see.

There are different forces at work here, in film, than in fiction and other art forms. In a recent essay in the *Southern Review* ("The Delta Factor"), Walker Percy points towards one of these differences in his discussion of a peculiar mode of escape from the modern malaise. He notes how a man, sunk in misery, immediately feels better if he starts to read a book about another man sunk in misery.

But the viewer of *Last Tango* finds no such release. This is the surface result it seems to me of a deeper difference be-

tween film and other art: novels for instance are played out in the mind's eye and the reading of any fiction is always an imaginative act. The reader has to take abstract qualities—words—and translate them into images in his mind. The writer can direct this process of image-making, shape it in directions he desires but he cannot finally control it. Walter Scott may spend two pages describing Ivanhoe but every reader picking up the novel will picture the character a little differently, see the man in his own way.

With film, this gap—between the minds' eyes of writer and reader—is eliminated. The viewer of film sees the same images as the film's makers so that the latter has unique power to shape the way the viewer reacts to the image. No artist can control reaction completely but by knowing the exact image the viewer will see, the filmmaker is a step closer than the novelist. The viewer of the film is literally seeing the film through the filmmaker's eye.

Going back to Percy, the differences between the novel of misery which relieves a man of misery and the film of misery, like *Last Tango*, lies, I think, in this distinction of the mind's eye and the eye. It is this active quality of reading fiction, the quality of using imagination to *see*, that makes a reader transcend the pettiness of either his life or the life of the character he is reading about. It is almost a formula of Wallace Stevens's ideal: the imagination and the reality are both brought into play. We see the reality by use of the imagination and are happier than either reality alone would allow us to expect.

The viewer of the film of unrelieved misery gets no such break. His action of viewing is passive. He sees, not in his mind's eye, but in his literal eye, and not even in *his* eye but in the eye of the filmmaker. There is no imaginative leap lying between reality and reality; there is only the will of keeping the eyelids raised.

The question then becomes what reality should film show and my conclusion is that film is in serious trouble if it forgets that it is basically more simple-minded than other art forms. And I mean simple-minded on the part of the viewer, not the creator, because of this passive quality in viewing film I have been discussing.

The ironic result is that film must deal in more complex images. The problem with *Last Tango in Paris* is that it is too

stark: coming away from the film I had the visual recollection of the stained walls of the apartment, a few husks of furniture glowing dully in yellow afternoon light, of darkness and semidarkness, of streets barren in predawn light, of faces dull even in love, even in pain. Our lives—or some lives—may indeed be made of such images, but I don't think film can show lives in just such a way.

And that is not to say that film means Disney, all sweetness and light and laughs. Look at Bergman. The memories I carried away from *Cries and Whispers* were rich, colorful, ornate—and gruesome, infected: reds of wallpaper and blood, craftsmanship of gown and cut glass, the green of the garden and the gray of death, the silent stare of a person who has said too little for too long, the contortion of a face dying and unable to draw breath. These are vivid images, intensely visual but never dull, despite the pall of dullness hanging over the characters' lives.

As said earlier, Bertolucci has fallen in the same kind of trap that Joyce did, just as Bergman has avoided it. A man like Dostoyevsky used his genius to create the story and simplified the transmission of the images that make up that story that the weight of significance those images bear could be greater. *The Brothers Karamozov* is a murder mystery and any bright junior high student could read it well enough to tell the plot. Yet the Russian's work is among the most profound ever written. Joyce used his genius to complicate the images so that by unraveling those images the reader could see the writer's mind at work. That required a great talent but it was talent put to uses incompatible with the telling of a story, fiction's traditional purpose.

Bergman uses his genius to create powerful images to tell stories about people caught in the malaise. Our excitement about the images frees us to take in his portrayal of that misery. Bertolucci has gone away from the powerful visual image—just as Joyce left the story—and he has created a film that, once it loses notoriety, few will want to see.

For the powerful visual image, Bertolucci has substituted something skillful. He draws us into the world of lonely monotony and makes us live that world by exactly reproducing it and forcing us to see it precisely as he did. Images of dullness to portray dullness. In the abstract, that sounds logical,

even, in a phrase someone might use, what is demanded by the canons of "artistic integrity."

Perhaps the problem is that of all art, though, and maybe every art form will someday destroy itself because its final development is always self-destruction. The imperative of change forces the form away from what it is into, not what it will be, but into what it cannot be. A novel as one long scream or a painting as a blank canvas may be honest but, in the end, who besides the creator really cares?

Art implies audience. For the sake of film, I hope Bertolucci is not a herald but a warning, or, better yet, a reminder, a reminder that film begins not in the mind but in the eye and it must delight or excite the eye or the mind back of that eye will go away.

A Poe Bibliographical Note

David K. Jackson

No bibliographer has called attention to the fact that Edgar Allan Poe's "Washitonii Vita," a review of a Latin textbook in the December 1835 issue of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, was soon after reprinted as a testimonial in a second edition of the book. In a later edition, the third, 1842, with a copyright date of 1836, Poe's review-testimonial did not appear. The William R. Perkins Library has all three editions of this unusual textbook: the first, which Poe reviewed; the second, which includes his review as one of twenty-seven testimonials; and the third, which with other revisions omits Poe's review and adds a Vocabulary not found in the first two.

The title-page of the second edition is A LIFE/ OF / GEORGE WASHINGTON. / IN LATIN PROSE: / BY FRANCIS GLASS, A.M., OF OHIO./ - / EDITED BY J. N. REYNOLDS./ - / [Six lines from *Old Play*] / - / NEW-YORK: / PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS, / NO. 82 CLIFF-STREET, / AND SOLD BY THE PRINCIPAL BOOKSELLERS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES./ - / 1835. What little is known about the book's editor, Jeremiah N. Reynolds (1799-1858), whose first name has been given erroneously as James and John by cataloguers, is to be found in a short biography of him by Robert Almy in *The Colophon* (Winter 1937) and in Aubrey Starke's article, "Poe's Friend Reynolds," published in the May 1939 number of *American Literature*. Reynolds's Polar and Pacific explora-

GEORGII WASHINGTONII,

AMERICÆ SEPTENTRIONALIS CIVITATUM FOEDERATARUM

PRÆSIDIS PRIMI,

VITA,

FRANCISCO GLASS, A. M.

OHIOENSI,

LITTERIS LATINIS CONSCRIPTA.

“Longè trans Oceanum, si Libris Sibyllinis credamus, patebit post multa sæcula tellus ingens atque opulenta, et in eâ exorietur vir fortis ac sapiens, qui patriam servitute oppressam consilio et armis liberabit, remque publicam, nostræ et origine cæterâque historiâ simillimam, felicibus auspiciis condet, Bruto et Camillo, Di boni! multum et merito antefendus. Quod nostrum illum non fugit Accium, qui, in Nyctegresiâ suâ, vetus hoc oraculum numeris poeticis adornavit.”

Ciceronis fragm. xv. ed. Maii, p. 52.

NEO-EBORACOPOLI:

TYPIS FRATRUM HARPERORUM.

VENALIS PROSTAT APUD OMNES BIBLIOPOLAS.

MDCCCXXXV.

tions and his writings to Congress interested Poe, who on more than one occasion referred to him. Poe, it has already been pointed out by others, drew on Reynolds for his *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*, and it may have been Jeremiah N. Reynolds whose name Poe called out as he lay dying in a Baltimore hospital.

Professor Charles Anthon of Columbia University, a distinguished Latin scholar for whom Poe had great admiration, was instrumental in the book's publication. In March 1835 Anthon wrote the following endorsement to the publishing house of the Harpers: "At the request of Mr. Reynolds I have examined the manuscript . . . and consider it well worthy of publication. It is, indeed, quite a curiosity of its kind." In his *Messenger* review Poe agreed with Anthon and remarked, as did Reynolds in his Preface, on Glass's ingenuity "at . . . calling Quakers *Tremebundi*" and bullets *glandes plumbeæ*.

In Poe's critique reprinted in the second edition the publishers made a few changes. They corrected an error which Poe had made. He had mistakenly referred to Glass as a native of Ohio. Glass was only a citizen. For the readers of his *Messenger* review Poe had translated that part of the book which contained Judge John Marshall's announcement in Congress of the death of Washington. This translation, which, of course, would have been a pony for students of the book, the publishers were careful to omit. Also omitted was Poe's final paragraph in which he took issue with Professor S. B. Wylie of the University of Pennsylvania, who believed that the book "would be a valuable acquisition to our classical schools." Before launching into his blistering critique of T. S. Fay's novel, *Norman Leslie*, which followed "Washingtonii Vita," Poe concluded: ". . . had ancient Rome existed in the nineteenth century, we could scarcely have a better book for the purpose than the Washington of Mr. Glass."

The Jay B. Hubbell Center for American Literary Historiography

The Jay B. Hubbell Center for American Literary Historiography has been established in the Manuscript Department of the William R. Perkins Library at Duke University. Jay B. Hubbell taught American literature at Duke from 1927 to 1954 and in 1929 became the founding editor of *American Literature*, which quickly established itself as the leading journal in its field. Honoring Professor Hubbell's scholarly interest in literary history, the Center will collect and preserve correspondence, research material, and other primary sources related to American literary history, criticism, and bibliography and their theoretical foundations. More broadly, the Center will promote studies in the history of American thought and the emergence of self-understanding and will facilitate the next major writing—which may well be imminent—of a full-scale history of American literature. Commitments of the personal and professional papers of several prominent scholars have already been received. These papers, to be placed with Professor Hubbell's papers and the files of the editorial offices of *American Literature*, will immediately make the collections of the Center a valuable resource for researchers. The Center is ready actively to solicit materials from other scholars and contributions to its own endowment. Inquiries for more detailed information will be welcomed by its organizing and directing committee, of which the current chairman is

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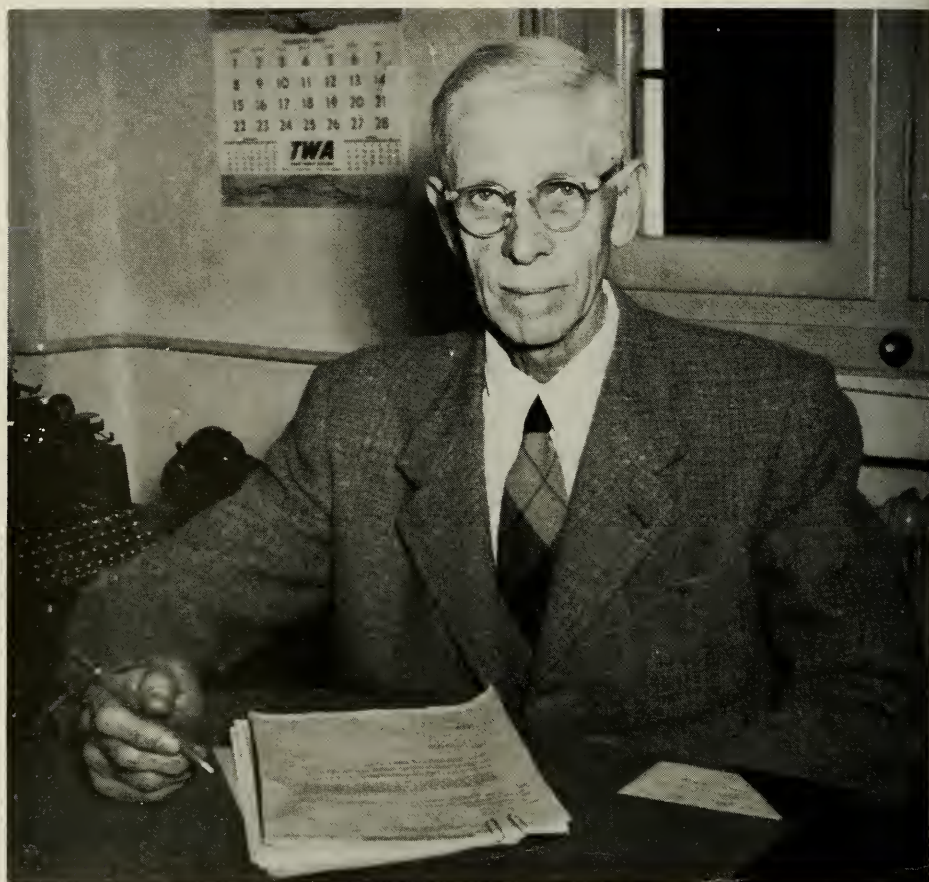
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Jay Broadus Hubbell

Jay Broadus Hubbell

The first half of the 20th century was one of the great periods in American literature. It was a time of experimentation with form, subject matter, rhythm, and choice of words, a time of representing life more truly than had older writings. These years were exciting and challenging ones for teachers, students, and aspiring writers. Robert Frost, Carl Sandburg, Owen Wister, Hamlin Garland, Ellen Glasgow, Allen Tate, Vachel Lindsay, John Hall Wheelock, Amy Lowell, among many other writers were lecturing, giving readings of their works, talking with and encouraging young poets, writers of fiction, and teachers. Hearing a genuine poet or novelist read and interpret his own works, being counseled and criticized by him could not fail to make lasting impressions and to influence

the futures of many young writers and teachers. These were the days when Dr. Jay Broadus Hubbell was teaching American literature, editing its scholarly journal, and writing or compiling his books. Acquaintance begun by Dr. Hubbell's request for permission to print a selection from the author's works or would you serve as a judge in our poetry contest? developed into life-long friendships with Carl Sandburg, Robert Frost, Witter Bynner, and John Hall Wheelock. Letters from these writers and other important literary figures are now a part of the collection of the Jay B. Hubbell Center.

To honor Dr. Hubbell and his contributions to the university and to American literature, Duke University in 1976 established in the Manuscript Department of the William R. Perkins Library the Jay B. Hubbell Center for American Literary Historiography. The Center collects and preserves primary source materials related to American literary history, criticism, and bibliography. The history of American literary scholarship is yet to be written and the Center's *raison d'être* is to provide the basic materials for the scholars who will write it.

The editorial files of the *American Literature* office and the professional papers of Dr. Hubbell form the nucleus of the Center's collection. Among them are letters from colleagues including Norman Foerster, Robert E. Spiller, T.O. Mabbott, Hugh Holman, and Clarence Gohdes; from former students, Lewis Leary, Matthew Bruccoli, Ima Herron, Harriet Holman, and Henry Nash Smith, to name a few; and from well-known literary personages of the day. Numerous first editions of books written by colleagues and students dedicated or inscribed to Dr. Hubbell have been placed in the Rare Book Room of the William R. Perkins Library. Appropriately Dr. Hubbell is publishing herein his letters from Robert Frost with an introduction reminiscent of their association and friendship.

Dr. Jay Broadus Hubbell came to Duke University in 1927 as Professor of English. He remained until his retirement in 1954. During his tenure Duke became one of the leading universities in the United States and a center for the study of American literature. Three factors helped to contribute to the stature of Duke: an outstanding English faculty; a vital, useful library collection; and the publication of *American Literature*, the leading scholarly journal in its field. In all three Dr. Hubbell played a leading role. He helped the library acquire many valuable manu-

scripts and books, among them the Paul Hamilton Hayne Papers, and was the founding editor of *American Literature*.

On the national scene Dr. Hubbell was one of the founders of the American Literature Section of the Modern Language Association of America. He served as its chairman for four terms and directed many of its committees and projects. Today he is referred to as the Dean of American Literature.

Dr. Hubbell has contributed widely to scholarly journals and has compiled, edited, or written eleven major works and been the instigator of many more. Above all, however, he is one of the most loved and respected of teachers, one who has transmitted his excitement and fulfillment in the study of American literature to hosts of students.

Erma P. Whittington
Librarian
Jay B. Hubbell Center

Robert Frost

Jay Broadus Hubbell

In the fall of 1916 Katherine C. Balderston asked me to read an article on Robert Frost that she had written for the Wellesley College literary magazine. She had graduated from Wellesley a few months earlier and was now one of my English colleagues at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas. She is now Professor Emeritus of English at Wellesley. My reaction to the passages from *North of Boston* that she quoted was somewhat mixed. The language seemed to me rather prosaic, but I was struck by the lifelike portraits of the New England country people. They seemed to me reminiscent of the Yankee men and women so well portrayed in the stories of Mary Wilkins Freeman and Sarah Orne Jewett. In 1916 I had read all too few of the poems written by living English and American poets.

Three years later the war was over; I was out of the army; and I had completed my graduate work at Columbia. I was back at S.M.U., and in 1919 I was finding unexpected delight in reading the work of the New Poets. In 1920 my younger colleague, John Owen Beatty, came to me with a brilliant idea for a textbook we needed for our Sophomore English classes. He asked me to collaborate with him. *An Introduction to Poetry* was to be at once an anthology and a treatise on the art of poetry. We included a large

number of poems by living poets. That in 1922 was quite an innovation. We had indeed, as we announced in our Preface, "invited an almost constant comparison between the older and the contemporary poets." We boldly announced that "it is necessary that each generation should discard some of the verse approved by its predecessors as 'classic.'" That was enough to enrage some of the conservative academics. We had dedicated the book to our favorite Columbia University professors, W. P. Trent and A. H. Thorndike, and we wondered whether these middle-aged scholars would like the book. To our great surprise we learned from Professor Thorndike that he had read our book in manuscript and had recommended its publication to the Macmillan Company. The book was published in September 1922. Two months later Robert Frost was at S.M.U. giving a reading of his poems.

Beaty and I were concerned primarily with getting a suitable text for our Sophomore English classes; and we did not at first realize just how important the book would seem to living American poets who were trying to overcome both the indifference to poetry on the part of the general reading public and the hostility of older literary critics and professors of English. When I wrote to Frost asking for his permission to reprint two of his poems, he replied: "Of course have my two poems. I am only too glad of your help in reaching out for more and better readers."

An Introduction to Poetry was not meant to be an anthology of the One Hundred Best Poems in English. The poems we printed were often chosen primarily to illustrate various types and metrical forms. Nevertheless it must have been obvious to our readers that we had our favorites among living poets. We included six of Edwin Arlington Robinson's poems and part of a seventh but only two of Frost's poems. When he talked with me in November 1922, he let me know that he knew that I considered Robinson the better poet. In 1936, however, when *An Introduction to Poetry* appeared in a revised and enlarged edition, it contained ten of Frost's poems. In the 1922 edition we had included only "Mending Wall" and "A Tuft of Flowers." "Mending Wall" is of course a fine poem, and it served admirably to illustrate a modern poet's handling of blank verse. "A Tuft of Flowers" is a good poem, too, but even in 1922 it did not seem to me one of Frost's best. We chose it to illustrate a contemporary poet's use of the unfashionable heroic couplet.

Frost's reading was sponsored by the English department and "The Makers," our undergraduate poetry club. The poet's honorar-

ium was \$150. On that same evening in New York Gilbert K. Chesterton was being paid \$1000 for his lecture. Why, I wondered, were Americans willing to pay so much more to see and hear an English writer? For our poet, the "Makers" got together a large and appreciative audience, and he read his poems well. I remember particularly his reading of "The Code" in what he said was the authentic rural dialect of the north of Boston country.

What I remember best, however, is not Frost reading "Birches" or "The Death of the Hired Man" but his talks with me in our little house on Haynie Avenue. Several hours before he was to speak at S.M.U. some one brought him to our house from (I think) Fort Worth. He said to me: "I'm in your hands." We were delighted to take him in and treat him as an honored guest. Lucinda had two babies to look after, but she did her best to make him feel at home. That evening at dinner we had as guests two or three of the "Makers," and they were good listeners. One of them, Jeanne Calfee, had written a poem that Frost had read, "Little Mexico." I remember hearing him say to her something like this: "Your poem is good, but it is not altogether *You*. If you really want to write poems that will last, you must keep on writing and trying until you get the *Not-You* out of your verses and only the *You* is left."

After his reading we brought the poet back to our house, and there he talked to Lucinda and me and a few of the "Makers," who listened intently to every word he said. It was near midnight when I hinted to one of the students that it was time for Mr. Frost to get some sleep. They took the hint and left. Lucinda went upstairs to bed, but the poet did not want to sleep. He and I sat up and talked until three o'clock in the morning. To my surprise he was up by seven and ready for more talk. He came into the kitchen where Lucinda was preparing breakfast and said to her: "I like to stay with friendly people."

In 1922 Frost was forty-eight years old. Before 1915 when his second book, *North of Boston* (first published in London in 1914) was reprinted in New York, he was known to only a handful of American readers. By 1922 he had come to be regarded as one of the best of the New Poets. He had published three notable books of poems, but his royalties were, he told me, only a little over a thousand dollars a year. No wonder he had to teach and give readings of his poems. He had found little profit in farming.

The struggle for recognition had been long and arduous. When he was much younger, his impatient grandfather had said to him:

"Robert, if for the next two years I pay all your expenses so that you can devote your full time to writing poetry and if two years from now you haven't made a go of it, will you give up poetry for good?" "Give me twenty years" was the poet's response, and he said to me: "That is about how long it took." In those two long decades, he said, he had sent his poems regularly to what seemed to him the four best American literary magazines. They were, I think, the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, and the *Century*. It is sad to realize that our leading quality magazines failed so dismally to recognize one of the great American poets of this century. One editor, Frost said to me, had offered to print one of his poems if he would make certain changes in it. This the poet was not willing to do.

I was deeply interested in all that Frost had to say about other poets living or dead. One of his early favorites was Edgar Allan Poe. It was the music in Poe's poems that fascinated him. As he grew older, however, like Sidney Lanier, another admirer of Poe, he discovered a more congenial master in Emerson. And yet I wonder if there is not a distant echo of Poe in that last magical stanza in "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening":

The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep.

It was, I suspect, Shakespeare, that master of the spoken word, who did most to help Frost find his own poetic voice. As a boy, he told me, he tried to find out just how the great passages in the plays were meant to be spoken; and when he found the answers, he wrote them down on the margin of the page. As he grew older, however, it dawned upon him that the right way to speak these passages is implicit in the lines. Frost learned that lesson well.

"Home is the place where, when you have to go there,
They have to take you in."

"I should have called it
Something you somehow haven't to deserve."

Frost talked to me freely about the poets he had known. He cherished a deep affection for his English friend, Edward Thomas, who was killed in the war. Edwin Arlington Robinson, he said, was the only man he had ever known who after becoming a confirmed

alcoholic had managed to control his appetite so that on social occasions he could take one drink and stop. He told me how Conrad Aiken as a Harvard undergraduate had been placed on probation because for ten days he had systematically cut his classes so that he might give all his time to writing a poem based upon Théophile Gautier's "La Morte amoureuse." He talked a little about his brief experience as an undergraduate at Dartmouth. There was too much hazing. "I could take all that," he said, "but I wasn't getting what I had gone to college for." I asked him about Amherst. He said there were too many young liberals — Stark Young I remember as one of them — who were always attacking age-old institutions like marriage. He was a little worried about John Farrar, editor of the *Bookman*, whose mother had not brought him up to take part in the stripping parties then fashionable among the Young Intellectuals in Greenwich Village.

Remembering that I was chairman of the English department at S.M.U., he gave me his solution of the perennial problem of what to do with the Freshman course in composition. "There are two difficulties," he said. "Most of your students don't want to learn to write, and the majority seem to have nothing to write about. I would," he said, "abolish the course but keep the instructional staff." "Why keep the staff?" I asked. "They would be there to help those who really want to learn to write enough to work at it." "For the rest of their time," he went on, "I would have them read and correct the papers which the Freshmen write in classes in other subjects." I thought that I would like to see that method given a fair trial, but I did not think the Administration at S.M.U. would ever let the English staff put it into operation.

Frost liked best to talk about the country people in New Hampshire and Vermont. I had seen little of life in New England outside of Boston and Cambridge, but I knew about country people. My grandfathers were farmers. My father was a Baptist minister in rural Virginia. Our neighbors were farmers, and he always had a small farm to supplement his meager salary. When Frost read "The Death of the Hired Man," I remembered how my father had taught me not to try to lift the forkful of hay that I was standing on. Frost admitted that he was himself not much of a farmer. "I just putter around," he said. His son, he told me, was determined to make the farm pay. He talked about his father who had wanted to join the Confederate army and had actually got as far south as Philadelphia before he was turned back. It was he who had named

his son Robert Lee Frost. As a native of Virginia and a lifelong admirer of General Lee, I liked that. It seemed somehow to bring us closer together.

Frost talked to me about his present position. As Poet in Residence at the University of Michigan, he was troubled because his duties had never been defined. Nevertheless he was trying as best he could to represent Poetry on the Ann Arbor campus. Too many young would-be poets brought too many verses for him to read. A few of them, he thought, might eventually achieve something if they were not so "clinging." He didn't want any disciples.

Frost's second letter to me was in reply to my request that he serve as one of the judges in our annual undergraduate poetry contest. "Dear Mr. Hubbell," he wrote, "If you knew how much poetry, bad, worse, and worst, I was reading this year as of obligation to the State of Michigan you wouldn't ask me to read more however good for the State of Texas....(But) Don't think me so heartless as not to have done the best I could for them."

This was my first encounter with a poet of the first order, and it was a memorable experience for a young man trying to teach young people to understand and appreciate great poetry. I wish I could describe it in such language as William Hazlitt employed in that magnificent essay, "My First Acquaintance with Poets." Hazlitt's first poet was that versatile genius Samuel Taylor Coleridge, whom Charles Lamb was to characterize as "Logician, Metaphysician, Bard."

I am aware of course that much of what Frost said to me in November 1922, he would say again to eager listeners, some of whom have recorded their recollections. In 1922 he knew what kind of poetry he wanted to write, and he knew that what he had published was good. He was, I believe, as intelligent and, in the best sense of the word, as sophisticated as any of his critics or any of the English or American poets of his time. He was not yet bothered by what the psychiatrists and the devotees of the New Criticism would say they had found in his poems. He was not yet the great public figure he became, expected to pontificate on all sorts of subjects. He had not yet learned that some of his better poems were not suited for platform presentation. Some of them, he was to find, were "too cruel." In his later years he was, like Vachel Lindsay and Carl Sandburg, to learn that a few of his inferior poems always brought a quick response when he read them to college students.

In 1935 while I was collecting materials for my college anthology, *American Life in Literature*, I wrote to Frost for permission to reprint ten of his poems. I had chosen "The Death of the Hired Man," "Mending Wall," "Birches," "An Old Man's Winter Night," "The Need of Being Versed in Country Things," "A Brook in the City," "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening," "Our Singing Strength," "Paul's Wife," and "The Bear." He approved my selection, which I still think was a good one; and in a letter that I cherish he wrote me that in recent numbers of certain magazines there were poems which had not yet appeared in book form. These, he said, I was free to use if I liked them; and, he added, there would be no fee if I did use them. The four that I chose still seem to me among his best. They are: "Desert Places," "On the Heart's Beginning to Cloud the Mind," "They Were Welcome to Their Belief," and "On a Bird Singing in Its Sleep." It was at this time that the poet sent me a copy of the first edition of *North of Boston* with the inscription "To Jay B. Hubbell from His Friend Robert Frost." When the book came, I found in it one of the new poems, "Desert Places," in his own handwriting. I gave them both to the Frederic William Boatwright Library at my alma mater, the University of Richmond.

In 1937 Lucinda and I decided to take the boys to New York for our spring vacation. We thought it was time for them to see the big city where Jay Jr. was born. Lucinda and I wanted very much also to attend a dinner in honor of Robert Frost given by the Poetry Society of America. Thanks to Witter Bynner, I was at that time a member of the Society. And so on the evening of April 1, 1937, while Jay Jr. and David were enjoying a bus tour through Chinatown, we were at the dinner. The President of the Society was Dr. Henry Goddard Leach, editor of the *Forum*, whom I had first known when he and I were graduate students at Harvard. Among the many notable personalities at that dinner I remember best John Hall Wheelock, whose *Dust and Light* Lucinda and I had read with delight in 1920. He read one of Frost's poems beautifully.

It was good once more to be able to shake hands with the poet who in 1922 had said to Lucinda: "I like to stay with friendly people." That evening he was among friendly people: poets and lovers of poetry who wished to honor him. For that audience he gave one of his best talks, full of witty and wise comments on a variety of subjects. My memory, however, retains most clearly a story he

told us. He had spent the winter in the South (I think in San Antonio) and had just come to New York on his way to Vermont. In the Pullman he had talked for hours with a businessman who had an important post in the New Deal in Washington. The man did not know who Frost was, but saw that he looked and talked like a person of some importance. When he learned that Frost had an upper berth he protested, called the Pullman conductor, and arranged for the poet to have a lower berth. "And then," said Frost, "we sat up and talked all night." (Fifteen years earlier, I remembered, he had sat up and talked with me until three in the morning.) Along about three in the morning it suddenly dawned upon the New Dealer that he had done most of the talking and didn't know who his companion was. And so he asked: "What's your line?" "I write poetry," Frost replied. "My God!" exclaimed the New Dealer, "my wife writes that stuff, too!"

I told this story on March 14, 1945, when I introduced Frost to an audience in the Alice Baldwin Auditorium on the East Campus. That was not perhaps in the best of taste, but the poet did not seem to mind; and the listeners, mostly college girls, enjoyed it. (I said, or think I said what I had said before to my students that but for the women who love poetry, teach their sons and daughters to love it, and sometimes try to write it, our living poets would find far fewer readers.) On this occasion the poet read, and in his best manner, *The Masque of Reason* and *The Masque of Mercy*. The audience liked these sophisticated and witty dialogues and, I think, understood their satiric implications. My colleague Newman Ivey White, who helped many a Duke undergraduate to write better verses, liked the *Masques* so much that he immediately bought copies for his private library.

The last time Robert Frost came to Duke University it was not to read his poems but to receive an honorary degree. I had known nothing about the degree before Commencement, but I was immensely pleased to be able to congratulate the poet on an honor long overdue. Afterwards he talked for an hour or two with a few of his friends and admirers. Always interested in linguistic problems, he expounded on his subtle and original conception of "opposites." I liked better his comments on Emerson's poems, for some of which he cherished a deep affection. "Uriel" he called "the greatest Western poem yet." He was on this occasion, however, critical of Emerson's failure to rework poems which contain inferior passages. Quoting one of Emerson's quatrains (I cannot remember which

one), he noted that the first two lines were an admirable expression of the poet's thought but they were followed by two lame lines.

I regret that I have kept a copy of only one of my letters to Frost. It is the last one, and it was written from Lubbock, Texas, where I was teaching in 1960 at Texas Technological College (now Texas Tech University).

March 18, 1960

Mr. Robert Frost
Care of Henry Holt & Co.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Frost:

I read recently that you were in Chapel Hill, only a dozen miles from Durham, where I live. I would love to have seen and heard you again; but I am (for a few months) back in Texas — although not at S.M.U., where I first met you, I think in 1923. It was in 1919 that Katherine Balderston, now Professor of English at Wellesley, introduced me to *North of Boston*, and I have loved your poetry ever since.

I retired from teaching at Duke University in 1954, but I have taught at several institutions since that time. I read Nitchie's MS the year I was at Columbia University.

Here at Texas Tech (which should be re-named the University of West Texas) I am teaching your poems in two classes, and finding in them both delight and wisdom. We had a six-inch snow while we were reading "Snow," "Birches," etc, but my students hardly needed the snow to appreciate the poems. To me they are as fresh and as beautiful as ever. I congratulate myself on being your contemporary and on having the opportunity to become acquainted with the man as well as the poet — though of course they are the same person.

I send you not only my best wishes but those of some sixty fine young Texas men and women.

Sincerely yours,
Jay B. Hubbell

I have particularly enjoyed "Of the Stones of the Place." It makes the South Plains seem less "unstoried, artless, unenhanced."

(NOTE by JBH: The dates in the first paragraph of this letter should be "November, 1922" and "in the fall of 1916.")

Robert Frost in his later years was given many honors, but the Swedish Academy always awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature to other writers, few of them his peers. And so I, like many another American admirer, Republican or Democrat, was immensely pleased when in January 1961, I learned that John F. Kennedy

was giving Frost a part in the Inaugural ceremony. It would be good to see the poet once again even if only on television. Frost had decided to read his William and Mary Phi Beta Kappa poem, "The Gift Outright," which is certainly one of our finest patriotic poems. He had composed for it an appropriate introduction, but the bright lights hurt his eyes and he couldn't read it. He quickly recovered himself and said: "I can give you the poem, for I know it by heart." He did not know, I am sure, that in the Inaugural Address the President would say: "Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country"; but in "The Gift Outright" Frost had paid his tribute to those long-dead American soldiers and sailors whose "deeds of war" were the "deed of gift" that gave us a country of our own.

Such as we were we gave ourselves outright
(The deed of gift was many deeds of war)
To the land vaguely realizing westward,
But still unstoried, artless, unenhanced,
Such as she was, such as she would become.

Immediately after he had spoken that last line, Frost repeated it with a significant change of tense:

Such as she was, such as she *will* become.

Thus he reaffirmed his faith in the future of the country he knew and loved so well.

The man and the poet were, alas, too often not the same. Lawrance Thompson, Kathleen Morrison, and others who knew him far better than I knew him have described his shortcomings as a man; but I let my record stand as it is because it suggests the great influence Frost had upon students and young instructors who listened as he read his poems and talked to them about literature and life.

A Checklist of the Duke Latin Manuscript Collection

Michael P. Harris

More than twelve years ago Professor William H. Willis of the Department of Classical Studies published in *Library Notes* his "preliminary catalogue" of the Duke Library's collection of Latin manuscripts,¹ then numbering forty items. His pleasure is evident in describing the sophistication of the collection as it had grown, its encompassing range, and particularly the value which several of its individual pieces held for scholars. In at least two prominent instances since then, the collection's development has been enhanced by the intervention of Mr. Willis himself.

The early promise of a collection valuable to the research of scholars at Duke and elsewhere has been fulfilled. The Latin manuscripts have provided material for the palaeographical and philological dissertations of many doctoral candidates and have been instrumental in attracting to Duke visiting scholars, often as participants in conferences which to a large degree depend upon the collection for their success.

I must repeat here Willis' earlier admonition concerning the hazards involved in providing a listing of the manuscript collection before the pieces have been properly collated in detail with other texts. A catalogue in book form has, in fact, taken shape but is proceeding slowly and irregularly. The first sixty-odd manuscripts in the collection have been thoroughly described, but not collated. Needless to say, many conclusions as to identification, provenience

¹"The Duke Manuscripts in Latin," *Library Notes*, no. 39 (April 1965), 15-24.

and date for many of the texts will always be tentative and will rest upon the concurrence of several examiners.

Since the appearance of the Willis list, the Duke Library has acquired one hundred additional Latin manuscripts, expanding its collection to more than triple its size in 1965. Of these one hundred items (Codices Latini Dukiani 41-140), 49 were purchased from dealers, 49 came from the private collection of Professor Berthold L. Ullman, and two were presented as gifts by Professor Willis.

The most active purchasing occurred from July 1965 to November 1972 at a time when the sources of funds for such purposes were more abundant than today. Large monetary gifts from patrons were directly responsible then for the acquisition of several impressive pieces. Among the texts purchased are two of Cicero (Codex 43, *De officiis*; Codex 95, *De inventione*), complementing the two texts of that author already represented in the collection.² Of other classical authors, manuscripts which hold an eminent place in establishing the texts (and therefore of more scholarly interest to the philologist) were acquired.

Among these manuscripts, Codex 118, comprising 86 vellum leaves inscribed in the twelfth century, contains the complete text of Lucan's *Pharsalia*. Manuscripts of this text prior to 1400 are scarce outside of the European libraries. Ours, one of four in the United States and possibly the oldest, shares the readings of the two major families of early Lucan manuscripts, one of which is represented by a single codex written in the tenth century. Our text continues to offer a rich source of study for scholars and students.

A second Lucan manuscript, Codex 125, is formed of three vellum leaves containing 78 lines from Book IV of the *Pharsalia*, used in the binding of a sixteenth-century printed edition of Suetonius. The handsome Caroline minuscules were written perhaps in the eleventh century, thus becoming another important witness to Lucan's text.

The history of the Trojan war, attributed to Dares the Phrygian and Dictys the Cretan, was first printed in 1471, but is apparently very rare in manuscript form. Since DeRicci's *Census*³ of Latin

²Codex 19, 31, described by Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

³Seymour DeRicci. *Census of medieval and renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1935); and *Supplement* (originated by C.U. Faye; continued and edited by W.H. Bond. New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1962).

manuscripts in the United States lists no other, Codex 112 may be the only copy of the work in this country. The text is complete, written by a single scribe in the fifteenth century on vellum, with an elaborately decorated title page and eight other gold initials with white vine-work.

Also acquired by purchase is Codex 123, a very important fragment of two conjoint vellum leaves, inscribed perhaps as early as the tenth century and containing from Plautus, the Roman comic poet, several lines (63 from the *Casina* and 62 from the *Curculio*) with contemporary marginalia and interlinear glosses. Since no manuscript of Plautus antedating the tenth century has yet been uncovered save the fourth-century palimpsest in the Ambrosian library, this manuscript is extremely valuable as one of the earliest witnesses to the Plautine text.

A second large source of new acquisitions was the estate of the late Professor Bethold L. Ullman, an eminent professor of classics at the University of North Carolina, who maintained close ties with Duke. The University Library was able to make a successful bid in late 1966 for the Latin manuscripts from his library which he had painstakingly collected for many years during his distinguished career. This group of 49 codices and fragments comprises texts from many centuries and in many styles of writing, but the largest part is from Italy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Four humanistic texts of Cicero (Codices 46, 47, 48, 59) increase the number of manuscripts of that author in our collection to eight and add a new work, the *Tusculan Disputations*. Additions to the repertoire of classical authors are Sallust (Codex 50) and Aristotle in Latin translation (Codices 72, 73). Several mediaeval theological commentators and philosophers are to be found, including Bernardus of Clairvaux (Codex 53), Bede (Codex 58) and St. Augustine (Codex 88). The Renaissance humanists Leonardo Bruni (Codex 46) and Gasparinus Barzizius (Codices 49, 54) are represented by near-contemporary manuscripts.

Two outstanding items in the collection are the gifts of Professor Willis himself. Codex 119, a Latin glossary on vellum, dates from the mid-ninth century, considered the "golden age of Latin manuscripts." It remains unclear where it was inscribed, but the evidence suggests Northern France. On two pairs of conjoint leaves, it contains numerous rare Latin words, mostly from Roman comedy, with an explanation of their meaning. More significantly, however, the words are given in their inflected forms as they appear in the

works themselves; hence, they are crucial for the establishment of the comedies from which they are excerpted. As indicated above, since our modern text of Plautus rests for the most part on manuscripts not earlier than the tenth-century, this ninth century fragment is the earliest evidence of the text for those words included in the lists. Bernhard Bischoff, the leading authority on texts of this period, believes no other fragments of the manuscript have survived.

In 1974, Professor Willis presented the University with another vellum fragment. It was inscribed in Switzerland in about 770, making it the oldest piece in Duke's Latin manuscript collection.⁴ The text is the *Ars minor* of Donatus, or the treatment of the parts of speech derived from his *Ars grammatica* and wildly popular in the Middle Ages, so widely known, in fact, that the word in the form "donet" became a common metonymy for any elementary treatise. The "Willis fragment" is thought to be the earliest manuscript extant of the work.

Following the same categories Willis employed in 1965, an updating of the Duke Library collection of Latin manuscripts will yield the following divisions: 23 classical, 10 biblical, 71 ecclesiastical or patristic, 24 secular mediaeval, 15 Renaissance manuscripts or fragments. His caution at that time, to "collect actively and aggressively, in the face of a rapidly shrinking market and increasing competition, if students and scholars are to be provided the materials of basic research and the opportunity to make significant original contributions to the knowledge of our classical, mediaeval, and Renaissance heritage,"⁵ was well heeded, as the good health of the present collection confirms. Maintaining the quality and value of such a collection demands that its expansion and the development of areas already well-represented in it receive constant attention.

⁴Within the manuscript collection at Duke a distinction is made between manuscripts of papyrus and manuscripts of vellum or paper. In the papyrus collection there is a unique fragment from a late third-century codex of Cicero containing parts of several lines from his first oration against Catiline, probably our earliest witness to that text. A full treatment of the fragment is provided by Willis in "A papyrus Fragment of Cicero," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 94 (1963), 321-327.

⁵Willis, "Duke Manuscripts," p. 22.

SHORT LIST OF THE DUKE LATIN MANUSCRIPTS (*Codices Latini Dukiani*)

<i>Codex Latinus Dukianus</i>	<i>Short Title</i>	<i>Material and State*</i>	<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Century/ Year</i>	<i>Source</i>
1	Biblia Latina (VT)	vellum (292 ff.)	No. France	xiii	
2	Homilies on the Gospels	vellum (156 ff.)	Ea. France	early xiii	from A. B. Hunter collection (=Rotulus No. 1051)
3	Biblia Latina (VT) [end, Genesis and Capitula Exodi]	veilum, frg. (1f.)	Germany	2nd half, xv	
4	Missal	vellum, frg. (1f.)	Italy	xiv/xv	
5	Breviary	vellum, frg. (1f.)	No. France	ca. 1120	
6	Officium Parvum B.M.V.	vellum, frg. (7ff.)	No. France	ca. 1500	
7	Gregorii IX <i>Decretales</i>	vellum, frg. (1f.)	No. Italy or So. France	ca. 1240	
8	Book of Hours	vellum, frg. (1 quire of 8 ff.)	England	xv	
9	Horae de B.M.V.	vellum, frg. (4ff.)	France	xv	
10	Psalter from Breviary	vellum, frg. (1 f.)		xiv	
11	Breviary	vellum, frg. (1 f.)	No. Italy	xvi	
12	Franciscan Breviary	vellum (323 ff.)	No. Germany or Flanders	late xiii	Acquired 1944
13	Breviary	vellum, frg. (1 f.)	France	xiii	Gift of Dr. & Mrs. Trent, 1945
14	Scholastic terminology	vellum, frg. (1 f.)		xiv	
15	Responsoriale	vellum, frg. (2 ff.)		xv	
16	Biblia Latina (NT: II Peter ii. 10-I John ii. 27; Apoc. xix. 10-end)	vellum, frg. (2 ff.)	Tuscany	xii	Purchase, 1948
17	Antiphonale diurnum of the Missale Romanum	vellum, frg. (1 f.)		xv	Gift of O. Norwood & T.L. Nial, 1949
18	Missal	vellum, frg. (1f.)		xv/xvi	Gift of Pro- fessor L. Hall 1949
19	Cicero, <i>Epistolae ad Familiares</i>	paper (215 ff.)	Germany	xiv/xv	Purchase, 1964
20	Commentary on I Corinthians	vellum, frg. (8 ff.)	Italy	xiii	Purchase, 1964
21	Poggio Bracciolini, <i>De Varietate Fortunae</i> (frg.), <i>Invectiva contra Hypo- critas, Epistola ad Papam Nicolaum V</i> ; Leonardo Bruni, translation of <i>De Chersoneso</i> .	paper, bound with Nos. 22-25 (93 ff.)	Italy	xv	Purchase, 1964

*Unless otherwise stated, each manuscript is complete or nearly complete.

<i>Codex Latinus Dukianus</i>	<i>Short title</i>	<i>Material and State*</i>	<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Century/ Year</i>	<i>Source</i>
22	<i>Rinuccio Aretino</i> , translation of Plato, <i>Axiochus</i> and <i>Crito</i> ; Francesco di Fiano, two epigrams	paper, bound with Nos. 21, 23-25 (20 ff.)	Italy	xv	Purchase, 1964
23	Buonacorso da Montemagno, <i>Oratio de Nobilitate</i> ; Pietro dal Monte, <i>Ad Karolum Oratio pro Eugenio IV</i> ; Leonardo Bruni, <i>Invectiva contra Hypocritas</i> (frg.)	paper, bound with Nos. 21-22, 24-25 (32 ff.)	Italy	xv	Purchase, 1964
24	Paulus Vergerius, <i>De Ingeniis Moribus et Liberalibus Studiis libri duo</i> Francesco Filelfo, <i>3 Eplistolae</i>	paper, bound with Nos. 21-23, 25 (36 ff.)	Italy	xv	Purchase, 1964
25	Augustine, <i>Enarrationes in Psalmos</i> (in Ps. xxxi)	vellum, frg. (1 leaf) from binding of Nos. 21-24		x	Purchase, 1964
26	Persius, <i>Satirae</i>	paper (12 ff.)	Italy	xv	Gift of Duke Humanities Council, 1964
27	Commentary (unidentified)	vellum, frg. (1 f.) flyleaf from binding of Seneca 1498		xiii/xiv	Purchase, 1964
28	Palimpsest: upper, VT (<i>Judges</i>); lower, unidentified	vellum, frg. (4 f.) from binding of Seneca 1498		upper, xv lower, ?	Purchase, 1964
29	Francesco Filelfo, <i>Epistola ad Antonium Raudensem</i>	paper (1 f.) on flyleaf to Lactantius 1493	Italy	xv/xvi	Purchase, 1964
30	Hieronymus de Sancto-nellis, <i>Glossae ad St. Bonaventurae Commentarium in Sententias Petri Lombardi</i>	paper: in margins of Bonaventura <i>Comm.</i> 1477	Italy	ca. 1482-90	Purchase, 1964
31	Cicero, <i>Topica, Partitiones Oratoriae, de Oratore</i>	vellum (78 ff.)	Italy	xv	Purchase, 1965
32	Biblia latina (VT: Job, Prov., Lam., Eccclus.)	vellum (151 ff.)	Paris	xiii	Purchase 1965
33	Juvenal, <i>Satirae</i>	paper (82 ff.) bound with No. 34	Murcia, Spain	xv	Purchase, 1965
34	Persius, <i>Satirae</i>	paper (14 ff.) bound with No. 33	Murcia, Spain	xv	Purchase, 1965

*Unless otherwise stated, each manuscript is complete or nearly complete.

<i>Codex Latinus Dukianus</i>	<i>Short title</i>	<i>Material and State*</i>	<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Century/ Year</i>	<i>Source</i>
35	Petrus Berchorius, <i>Reductorium Morale</i> , extracts; index to Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i> ; Ovidian paraphrases	paper (2 quires) (2 ff.) (2 ff.)	Italy	xv	(Transferred from Trent History of Medicine Collection)
36	Diogenes Laertius, <i>De Philosophorum Vita</i> (Latin extracts)	paper (2 quires)	Italy	xv	(Transferred from Trent History of Medicine Collection)
37	Miscellanea: <i>Epitaphium Sercii Polensis, Epistola Pontii Pilati Tiberio, Epistolae Lauri Quirini</i> ; Ovid (<i>Her.</i>) <i>Saphos ad Phaonem</i> ; Antonio Betaria, <i>Epigrammata</i> ; poem	paper (2 quires)	Italy	xv	(Transferred from Trent History of Medicine Collection)
38= Trentinus 1	Regimen Sanitatis	paper (20 ff.)	Italy	xv	Gift, in Trent History of Medicine Collection
39= Trentinus 2	Carmen Herbale	paper (20 ff.)	Italy	xv	Gift, in Trent History of Medicine Collection
40= Trentinus 3	Materia Medica (in Latin & Italian)	paper (16 ff.)	Italy	xv	Gift, in Trent History of Medicine Collection
41	Sermons	paper (147 ff.)	Italy	mid-xv	Purchase, 7/65
42	Johannes de Ripis, <i>Super primo sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi</i>	vellum (303 ff.)	Italy	mid-xiv	Purchase, 7/65
43	Cicero, <i>De officiis</i>	paper (64 ff.)	Italy	1440	Purchase, 10/65
44	Biblia latina, (Judith xi.21-xiv.13; II Kings xxi.11-xxiii.15)	vellum, frg. (2 ff.)	France	xiii	Purchase, 1965
45	S. Hieronymus, <i>Dialogus adversus Pelagium</i>	paper (33 ff.)	Italy	xv (?)	Ullman coll., no. 1
46	Cicero, <i>Tusculanae disputationes</i> ; Leonardo Bruni, <i>Introductio ad philosophiam moralem</i> ; Bernardus, of Clairvaux, <i>De modo et cura rei familiaris</i>	paper (133 ff.)	Italy	xv	Ullman coll., no. 2
47	Cicero, <i>De officiis</i>	paper (96 ff.)	Italy	xv	Ullman coll., no. 3
48	Cicero, <i>De officiis</i>	paper (78 ff.)	Italy	1473	Ullman coll., no. 4

*Unless otherwise stated, each manuscript is complete or nearly complete.

<i>Codex Latinus Dukianus</i>	<i>Short title</i>	<i>Material and State*</i>	<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Century/ Year</i>	<i>Source</i>
49	Festus, <i>De verborum significatione</i> ; Barzizius, <i>Orthographia</i> ; <i>De elocutione</i>	paper (90 ff.)	Italy (Gottolengo)	1465	Ullman coll., no. 5
50	Sallustius, <i>De Catilinae coniuratione</i> 29-49; 53-61	paper (16 ff.)	Italy	early xv	Ullman coll., no. 6
51	Theological tracts and Sermons	paper (84 ff.)	Italy	xv	Ullman coll., no. 7
52	S. Antoninus, of Florence, <i>Summa paenitentiae</i>	vellum (67 ff.)	Italy	1463	Ullman coll., no. 8
53	S. Augustinus, <i>Soliloquium</i> Bernardus, of Clairvaux, <i>De contemplatione</i>	vellum (55 ff.)	No. Italy	xiv	Ullman coll., no. 9
54	Barzizius, <i>Epistolae</i> ; Hieronymus Guarinus, <i>Carmen epithalamium</i>	paper (88 ff.)	Italy	1493	Ullman coll., no. 11
55	Judicial actions of the commune of Fucecchio (Italy)	paper (125 ff.)	Fucecchio	xiv	Ullman coll., no. 12
56	Pseudo-Augustinus, <i>Speculum peccatoris</i>	vellum (12 ff.)	France	xiv	Ullman coll., no. 13
57	Missal (Orations for St. Laurentius, Aug. 10, and St. Bartholomaeus, Aug. 24)	vellum, frg. (2 ff.)	France	ca. 870	Ullman coll., no. 15
58	Beda Venerabilis, <i>Homilies</i> , II.3, for Palm Sunday	vellum, frg. (1 f.)	France	ca. 1160	Ullman coll., no. 16
59	Cicero, <i>Epistolae ad familiares</i>	paper (250 ff.)	Italy	xv	Ullman coll., no. 17
60	Sermons	paper (47 ff.)	Italy	xv	Ullman coll., no. 18
61	Breviary (spring, summer, autumn)	paper (324 ff.)	Germâny	xiv/xv	Ullman coll., no. 19
62	Breviary ("O" antiphons and rubrics for St. Thomas & St. John)	vellum, frg. (5 pieces)	Italy	xiv	Ullman coll., no. 21
63	Theological text	vellum, frg. (1 piece)	France	xiv	Ullman coll., no. 22
64	Unidentified text	vellum, frg. (2 ff.)	Italy	xiv	Ullman coll., no. 23
65	Service book; music (Ps. 1.4)	vellum, frg. (1 piece)	Italy	xv	Ullman coll., no. 24
66	Service book; music (Ps. xxxiii.1)	vellum, frg. (1 piece)	Italy	xv	Ullman coll., no. 25
67	Miscellaneous frgs.	vellum, frg. (4 pieces)	Italy/ Germany	xiv/xv	Ullman coll., no. 27
68	Treatise on sin	vellum, frg. (1 f.)	France	xii	Ullman coll., no. 28

*Unless otherwise stated, each manuscript is complete or nearly complete.

<i>Codex Latinus Dukianus</i>	<i>Short title</i>	<i>Material and State*</i>	<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Century/ Year</i>	<i>Source</i>
69	Mediaeval grammar	vellum, frg. (1f.)	England	xiv	Ullman coll., no. 29
70	Passio S. Marcelli Papae	vellum, frg. (1f.)	France	xiii	Ullman coll., no. 30
71	Gregorius I, <i>Dialogi</i> 1.9, 2.7	vellum, frg. (2ff.)	Germany	xiii	Ullman coll., no. 31
72	Aristotle, <i>De anima</i> III.10.6-11.2.1.	vellum, frg. (1f.)		xiii/xiv	Ullman coll., no. 33
73	Aristotle, <i>Physica</i> VIII.4.6-5.4	vellum, frg. (1f.)		xiv	Ullman coll., no. 34
74	Treatise on virtues and vices (Superbia)	vellum, frg. (1f.)	Italy	xiv	Ullman coll., no. 36
75	Biblia latina (I Macc. ii.5-iii.9)	vellum, frg. (1f.)	Austria	xiv	Ullman coll., no. 37
76	Biblia latina (Ps. cvi.14-cviii.27)	vellum, frg. (1f.)	England	xiii	Ullman coll., no. 38
77	Alexander de Villa- dei, <i>Doctrinale</i> 1678-1719; 1797- 1834; 1947-2045; 2103-2108; 2129-2134; 2153-2158; 2182-2186	vellum, frg. (6ff., 2 pieces)	France	xiii/xiv	Ullman coll., no. 40
78	Eberhardus Bethuniensis, <i>Graecismus</i> IV.4-V.1	vellum, frg. (1f.)		xiv	Ullman coll., no. 41
79	Theological text	vellum, frg. (1 piece)	Italy	late xi	Ullman coll., no. 43
80	Missal	vellum, frg. (1f.)	Germany	late xii	Ullman coll., no. 44
81	Roman law	vellum, frg. (1f.)	No. Italy	xiv	Ullman coll., no. 45
82	Pseudo-Dionysius, <i>De mystica theologia</i> , 3-end; <i>Epistola ad</i> <i>Gaium</i> , beginning	vellum, frg. (1f.)	England	ca. 1250	Ullman coll., no. 46
83	Justinianus, <i>Digesta</i> XXXIII, 26-32.6 with Accursian gloss	vellum, frg. (1f.)	No. Italy	xiv	Ullman coll., no. 47
84	Gregorius IX, <i>Decretales</i> , II.26.20-27.11 with gloss	vellum, frg. (1f.)		xiv	Ullman coll., no. 48
85	Unidentified text	vellum (2ff.)		xv	Binding of Ullman coll., no. 13
86	Grant of land	vellum (1 frg.)		1373	Ullman coll., no. 50
87	Guido de Baysio, <i>Ro- sarium decretorum</i> (Comm. on Decretum Gratiani, 4.2.1)	vellum, frg. (1f.)	No. Italy	xiv	Ullman coll., no. 51

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<i>Codex Latinus Dukianus</i>	<i>Short title</i>	<i>Material and State*</i>	<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Century/ Year</i>	<i>Source</i>
88	Augustinus, <i>De civitate Dei</i> , 17.54-19.12	vellum (2 ff.)	Italy	xiv	Ullman coll., no. 52
89	Service book	vellum, frg. (1 f.)	Germany	xv	Ullman coll., no. 53
90	Humanistic commentary on Statius, <i>Thebaid</i> , 1-147	paper (14 ff.)	Italy	xv	Ullman coll., no. 54
91	Miscellaneous theological treatises	paper (292 ff.)	Germany	1490-1493	Ullman coll., unnumbered
92	Theological fragments	vellum, frg. (3 pieces)		xv/xvi	Ullman coll., unnumbered
93	Unidentified	vellum, frg. (1 piece)			Ullman coll., unnumbered
94	Justinus, <i>Epitome Pompeii Trogi</i>	vellum (129 ff.)	Italy	xv	Purchase, 7/66
95	Cicero, <i>De inventione</i>	paper (83 ff.)	Italy	xv	Purchase, 9/66
96	Justinus, <i>Epitome Pompeii Trogi</i>	vellum (139 ff.)	Florence	late xv	Purchase, 12/66
97	Justinianus, <i>Codex constitutionum</i>	vellum (220 ff.)	Bologna (?)	late xiii	Purchase, 12/66
98	Jacobus de Varagine, <i>Legenda aurea</i>	vellum (217 ff.)	England	late xiii	Purchase, 12/66
99	Guillaume Peyraut, <i>Summa de vitiis</i>	vellum (97 ff.)	Austria	xiii	Purchase, 4/67
100	Boethius, <i>De consolazione philosophiae</i>	vellum (38 ff.)	No. Italy	xiv	Purchase, 4/67
101	Petrus Comestor, <i>Sermones</i>	vellum (12 ff.)	France	late xii	Purchase, 4/67
102	Gregorius I, <i>Liber pastoralis; Viridarium consolationis virtutum</i>	paper (269 ff.)	Germany	xv	Purchase, 4/67
103	Gregorius I, <i>Moralia in Job</i>	vellum (142 ff.)	England	xii	Purchase, 10/67
104	Petrus de Mora, <i>Alphabetum in artem sermocinandi</i>	vellum (71 ff.)	France	xiii	Purchase, 9/67
105	Petrus Lombardus, <i>Sententiae</i>	vellum, frg. (7 ½ ff.)	France (?)	xii	Purchase, 9/67
106	Serafino Tansi, <i>History of monastery of St. Michael Archangel</i>	paper (112 ff.)	Florence (?)	ca. 1720	Purchase, 4/68
107	Onofrio Panvinio, <i>San Giovanni in Laterano</i>	paper (152 ff.)	Rome (?)	1562	Purchase, 4/68
108	Riccardo da San Germano, <i>Chronicle of Sicily and Naples</i>	paper (126 ff.)	Monte Cassino	1602	Purchase, 6/68
109	Lombard Chronicles	paper (191 ff.)	Italy	xviii	Purchase, 6/68

*Unless otherwise stated, each manuscript is complete or nearly complete.

DI THVS CRETENSIS

DI THVS CRETENSIS

genere Gnossio ciuitate.

Hisdem temporibus quib

et Atride fuit peritus uo

enae interis Phoenicum que a Cathimo

in Achaiam fuerant delatae Hic fuit so

tius Idomenei Deucalionis filii et Meri

onis ex Molo: qui duces cum exercitu co

tra Ilium uenerant: A quibus ordinat

est ut annales belli Troiani conscriberet

1 gatur de toto bello sex uolumina in Tili

as digessit litteris Phoeniceis: Quae in

reuerfus senior in Cretam: precepit mo

riens: ut secum sepelirentur. Itaq; uille

iusserat memoratas Tili as in stagna ar

cula repositas eius tumulo condiderunt.

Verum secutis temporibus tertio decimo i

anno Neronis imperii: In Gnossio ciuita

te terremotus facti: cum multa: tum et

sepulchrum DI THVS ita patefecerunt:

ut a transcutibus arcula uideretur. Pa

stores itaq; ptereuntes: cum hanc uidis

sent tesaurum rati sepulchro abstulerunt

et aperta ea: inuenerunt tilias in cognitis

sibi litteris conscriptas: continuo ad suu

dominum Eupraxidem quendam noie

<i>Codex Latinus Dukianus</i>	<i>Short title</i>	<i>Material and State*</i>	<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Century/ Year</i>	<i>Source</i>
110	Petrus de Riga, <i>Aurora</i>	vellum (122 ff.)	Germany (?)	xiii	Purchase, 11/68
111	Jacobus de Varagine, <i>Legenda aurea</i>	vellum (314 ff.)	Italy	xiii/xiv	Purchase, 11/68
112	Dares and Dictys, <i>Historiae belli Troiani</i>	vellum (109 ff.)	Siena	late xv	Purchase ?
113	Justinus, <i>Epitome Pompeii Trogi</i>	vellum, frg. (1 f.)	England	xiii	Purchase, 7/69
114	Will of Raimonda	vellum (1 f.)	Germany (?)	1168	Purchase, 7/69
115	Vegetius, <i>Epitoma rei militaris</i>	vellum (2 ff.); paper (32 ff.)	Italy	ca. 1400	Purchase, 7/69
116	S. Benedictus, <i>Regula</i>	vellum (101 ff.)	Germany	ca. 1400	Purchase, 7/69
117	Gregorius I, <i>Homiliae in evangelia</i>	vellum (132 ff.)	No. Italy	ca. 1200	Purchase, 7/69
118	Lucanus, <i>Pharsalia</i>	vellum (86 ff.)	Italy	xii	Purchase, 11/69
119	Glossarium latinum	vellum, frg. (4 ff.)	No. France (?)	mid-ix	Gift, 1970, Prof. William H. Willis
120	Book of Hours	vellum (58 ff.)	So. Germany	late xv	Purchase, 4/70
121	Gilbertus Magnus, <i>De abstinentia</i>	vellum (160 ff.)	England	mid-xv	Purchase, 7/70
122	Johannes Marchesinus, <i>Mammothrectus</i>	vellum (140 ff.)	France (?)	xiv	Purchase, 9/70
123	Plautus, <i>Casina</i> 226-288; <i>Curculio</i> 372-433	vellum, frg. (2 ff.)	Italy	ca. 1000	Purchase, 12/69
124	Miscellaneous theological texts	paper (520 ff.)	Erfurt	xv	Purchase, 12/70
125	Lucanus, <i>Pharsalia</i> IV.634-659; 667-692 700-725	vellum, frg. (3 ff.)	Germany	xi (?)	Purchase. 1970
126	Compendium of the Gospels	paper (207 ff.)	Nuremberg	ca. 1500	Purchase, 9/71
127	<i>Expositio evangeliorum dominicalium per annum; Passio Domini secundum Mat. xxvi.2-xxvii.66 cum commentario</i>	paper (198 ff.)	So. Germany	late xv	Purchase, 9/71
128	Biblia breviata	paper/vellum (134 ff.)	Erfurt	early xv	Purchase, 9/71
129	Bernardus of Clairvaux, <i>Sermones</i>	vellum (32 ff.)	Italy	xiii	Purchase, 11/71
130	Pseudo-Augustinus, <i>Quaestiones Orosii et responsiones Augustini</i>	vellum (35 ff.)	Italy (?)	early xii	Purchase, 11/71

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Alia in foro victu que
creabat et a foro abigi
numme vult.

Aus summa ap-
pellat et ego ille
f. summa appellat dic
abuectum q. summa
no subripuena
formidat summa.

Amptol.

Sigilum. Summa
v. g. o. scriptum

Epila ad Timpeyaz
ficta

M e qdā in placet mihi pro n. forū n. comitū;
S ed hūc quē quero cū mō fecare si potes;
I nūbū mīe solida p. e. gaudem etā;
L ycone; quē rō tūp. mīh. d. che mīh.
Q uid cū nūc qūis aut cū mīh. Eloquar ab hīerā
P ōngona platagidoro mīh. nōm edepol nōm.
K a; mīh. itoc nōm dū lēmb. explem totq. ceras qūor.
S ed qd. lycone; quē rō mīh. mandātū est mīh.
V t hāstābellas ad eū mīh. Q. sū hō est
Cū L ibert' illi quē; quēis sumam; vocat.
L. S ūmane saluē. qūi sumam. nō sciam;
Cū E ma p. sūmētū. ubi obdormit aduū;
S ūmano. obet; rei mō omēs sumamū vocat.
L. A libi te meli' est querere hospitū; tibi.
A pūd me p. fecto nūbū ē sūmano locū.
S ; istū; quē; quēis ego sū; Q. uelō tū me uel
L ico trapezītā. Ego sū; Māter; me tibi
S alutē iussit thē mīh. pōngon' dicere.
E t hāstābellas dare me iussit. Nūbū ē q. tū.
C a p. sūmū nō lē. nō sūmū mīh. E dū nouerū;
C līpeātū ē lēfintū; ubi māchēdū dū lē.
Cū A d istic scriptū; ē id te omne iussit
P rofecto ut facerēs. sūa; si uellēs etām.
C oncede. īspitū; qd. sū scriptū; Māxime
T uo arbitratū dū; auferā; abste id qd. peto.
M iles lāconi in epidaurō hospitū;
S uo thēra pōngon' platagidorū; plurimū;
S alutē; dicit (mēis hīc est. hāmū vocat.) Pulcherrime.
T etū; oro et quēis qui hāstābellas afferet
T ibi ut eideatū; quāsticū; amī vīgineū.

<i>Codex Latinus Dukianus</i>	<i>Short title</i>	<i>Material and State*</i>	<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Century/ Year</i>	<i>Source</i>
131	Pseudo-Clemens, <i>Recognitiones</i>	vellum (42 ff.)	England	late xii	Purchase, 11/71
132	Vincenzo Castellani, Latin orations	paper (103 ff.)	Italy	xvi	Purchase 3/72
133	Service book	vellum, frg. (2 ff.)	Germany	xiii (?)	Purchase, 11/72
134	Alain de Lille, <i>Anticlaudianus</i>	vellum (54 ff.)	Paris (?)	xiii	Purchase, 11/72
135	Aelius Donatus, <i>Ars minor</i> (<i>De octo partibus orationis</i>); S. Bonifatius, <i>De</i> <i>poenitentia</i>	vellum, frg. (3 ff.)	Switzerland	ca. 770	Gift, 1974, Prof. William H. Willis
136	Basilius Magnus, <i>De</i> <i>studio librorum gentilium</i>	paper (11 ff.)	Basel	ca. 1471	Purchase, 1/75
137	Catalogus pontificum	paper (24 ff.)	Germany	ca. 1447	Purchase, 1/75
138	Breviary	vellum (39 ff.)	Germany	late xv	Purchase, 4/70
139	Missal (<i>Septem fratres</i> , July 10; <i>S. Petrus ad vincula</i> , August 1; <i>Processus et</i> <i>Martinianus</i> , July 2; <i>Abdon</i> <i>et Sennes</i> , July 30)	vellum, frg. (1 leaf)	Italy (?)	xv	
140	Beda Venerabilis, <i>Gesta anglorum</i> (epitome), 449-565, 633-673 A.D.	vellum (1 fragment)	Nonantola	early ix	Purchase, 11/76

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Hic dicitur in libro primo de laudibus
Hic dicitur in libro primo de laudibus
Hic dicitur in libro primo de laudibus
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Hic dicitur in libro primo de laudibus
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Hic dicitur in libro primo de laudibus
Hic dicitur in libro primo de laudibus
Hic dicitur in libro primo de laudibus

Ubi cumque magis nunc divina resurget
Exponit dicitur deus in terra fauore
Sollert hanc studium quinglo sparsit
O munda coclear alit coclear munim
Cure opus opus geluere omne
Pina hic opus peccata repente iuno
Vt qd delicta alit coclear iuno
Syllabic huc opus humilis opus ee deo
Cura cupiet uelut iure fauore
I nescis deponit opus si fela laborat
I nescis que facit uires expone iulius
Vt si se posse studet nata. si uig
Sunt si nescit opus si uide fere
A rectos alit qd si figure fere
Hic huc alit a motu pessa repere
Cure ad opus si aduc dicit uer
Vt si aduc huc uer si uide pessa
Hic si si uer uer si uer si uer
A qd si uer uer si uer si uer
Regula si uer si uer si uer
Vt si si uer si uer si uer
Efface opus si uer si uer
A uer si uer si uer si uer
Ostia si uer si uer si uer
C ostia si uer si uer si uer
Ostia si uer si uer si uer
I uer si uer si uer si uer
Ostia si uer si uer si uer
A si uer si uer si uer
Ostia si uer si uer si uer
I si uer si uer si uer
Ostia si uer si uer si uer
A si uer si uer si uer

Nam munda uer
huc si uer si uer
no si uer si uer
uere qd uer
oer exore si uer
uere exore si uer
q uer si uer
q uer si uer
proce si uer
uere si uer
uere si uer

q huc munda alit
uere si uer
uere si uer

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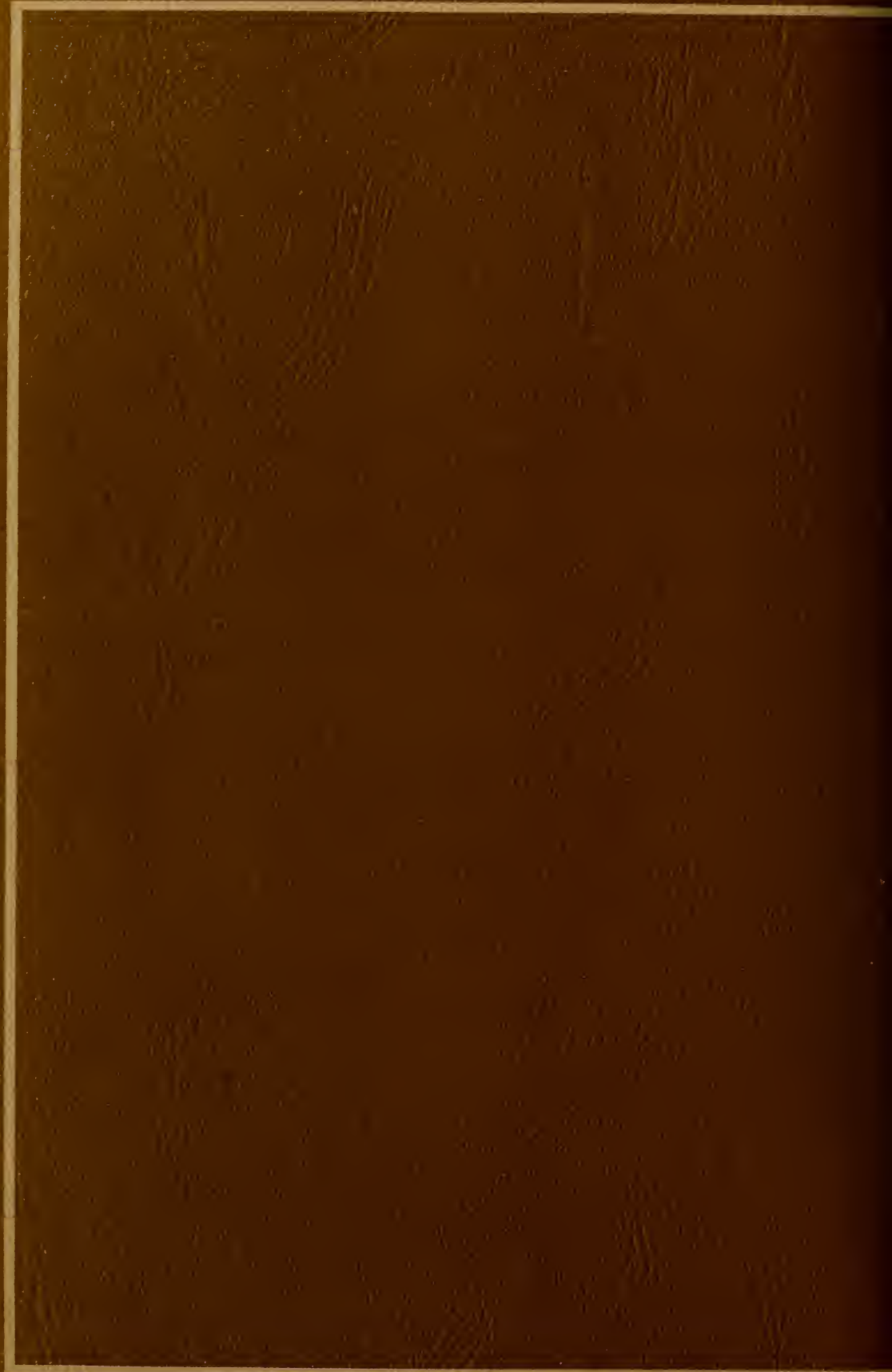
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December 1978

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Esther Evans is retired from the staff of Perkins Library and is a former Editor of *Library Notes*.

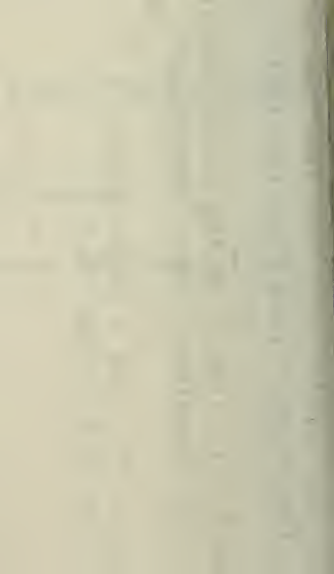
Jay Broadus Hubbell, Sr. is Dean of American Literature.

Harry L. Levy is Visiting Professor of Classical Studies at Duke University.

In the caption on p. 4, for "(on the right)" read "(on the left)"

On p. 21, line 3 in the first quotation, for "homstead" read "homestead"

On p. 24, line 3 in paragraph 3, for "B.D." read "B.C."



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p. 4 - in caption, read "on the left" instead of "in the right"

p. 21, line 3, in first quotation, read "homestead" instead of "house"

p. 27, line 3, P. 3, read "B.C." for "B.D."



Carl Sandburg (on the right) with Jay B. Hubbell at Flat Rock, N.C., in May, 1956.
Photograph by Prof. Morris Cox of Clemson University

My Friend Carl Sandburg

Jay B. Hubbell, Sr.

I. S. M. U.

In 1921 John Owen Beaty and I, two young professors at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, were writing *An Introduction to Poetry*. This book, published by Macmillan in September, 1922, was the first of its kind to include on a large scale poems written by living poets. In our Preface we boldly asserted that "it is necessary that each generation should discard some of the verse approved by its predecessors as 'classic.' " Beaty and I were primarily interested in getting a textbook suitable for our Sophomore English classes, and we did not at first realize how important such a book would seem to living poets like Robert Frost and Carl Sandburg, trying to win a hearing for their poems. The living poets had to contend not only with the public's indifference to poetry in general but also with the hostile attitude of many of the older academics to the New Poetry.

For permission to reprint their poems Beaty and I wrote to the poets as well as to their publishers. We wanted their approval of our selections. He wrote to the English poets; I wrote to the Americans. I have no copy of my letter to Sandburg which brought me this friendly response:

Dec. 19, 1921.

Dear Mr. Hubbell:

Use of the three pieces¹ you name for your anthology is okeh.
And I thank you for a letter alive and kindly.

Faithfully,
Carl Sandburg.

¹The three poems were "A Fence," "Chicago," and "A. E. F." In the revised edition of *An Introduction to Poetry* (1936) we replaced "A. E. F." with a longer and better poem "Four Preludes on Playthings of the Wind."

I have given my letters from Sandburg to my son Dr. David S. Hubbell of St. Petersburg, Florida, by whose permission I have quoted from them. Copies of the letters are in the Jay B. Hubbell Center.

Before he came to Dallas, Sandburg sent me a copy of his new book, *Rootabaga Stories* (1922). When he visited S. M. U. the next year, he inscribed the book for my son Jay B. Hubbell Jr., then not quite four years old:

May the zizzies
be good to you!

Carl Sandburg
Dallas, 1923

The first of Sandburg's two visits to S. M. U. came on March 5, 1923. The reading was sponsored by the English department and our undergraduate poetry club, "The Makers." I met the poet's train and brought him out to Dallas Hall, where he was to speak. He was a big man with the build of a college athlete, but there was about him an air of distinction which suggested the poet. I took an immediate liking to him. On the platform with his unruly lock of hair he looked very much like the famous conductor Leonard Bernstein. He had a good baritone voice which it was pleasing to hear whether he was reading a poem or singing a folksong. He gave us a good two-hour show. We paid him \$150 for it, and we knew we had got our money's worth.

For about fifteen minutes he talked about poetry, and then for nearly an hour he read his poems. He read them well, but it sometimes seemed to me that he got more music out of them than I had felt when I read them. On his second visit in 1925 he read and commented on his "Thirty-six Definitions of Poetry," which had been published in the *Atlantic Monthly* and were to be republished in *Good Morning, America* in 1928.

After about an hour Sandburg got out his guitar and sang old American songs. In between songs he amused the audience with jokes and anecdotes. One of them I remember as "If you marry a girl from Texas, no matter what happens she can always say she's seen worse." Of the songs he sang I remember best "The Boll Weevil" and the mountain ballad which begins:

High up on Old Smoky all covered with snow
I lost my truelove by sparking too slow.

At this time Sandburg was collecting materials for *The American Songbag*, which would be published in 1927; and at the end of the

lecture he asked those in the audience who knew fine old songs to come and sing them for him.

The "Makers" gave Sandburg a dinner, which at his request came after the lecture. These undergraduate poets were a fine lot of intelligent young men and women, and the poet obviously enjoyed talking with them. It was after midnight when I drove him to his hotel. In my Model T Ford there were on the back seat as many boys and girls as could crowd in. All the way downtown they were continually plying him with such questions as "Do you know this song, Mr. Sandburg?" Most of the songs they mentioned he already knew, but when some one asked him if he knew "Po' Boy," he said: "No. Sing it for me." After hearing the second stanza, he said to me in a low voice: "Will you stop at the first good street light you see and let me get this down?" He took out of his pocket a small notebook, drew five roughly parallel lines with his pencil, and then proceeded to jot down the various notes of the music. He made no attempt to indicate the key or to distinguish between quarter- and half-notes; but what he set down was enough to fix the tune in his memory. On his second visit to S. M. U. in 1925 he told us that "Po' Boy" was a prisoner's song and that our version lacked the opening stanza. It was good to hear him sing it for us. When *The American Songbag* was published in 1927, we found in it two different musical settings for "Po' Boy."

After his first visit to S. M. U. Sandburg wrote to George Bond, one of the "Makers," a letter of which the concluding lines were printed in the student paper the *Semiweekly Campus*:

. . . There is a vitality of a rare sort about the S. M. U. English crowd, freedom from the Dead Hand. I lay it partly to Prof. Hubbell and partly to the stuff of the human stocks they come from—and I could write much about my hopes out of their youth, daring, and that readiness for experiment which is so close to what we call originality. This is wishing you all the luck there is.

In the spring of 1924 Sandburg served as one of the judges in our annual poetry contest, which was open to all American undergraduates. The experience troubled him. On May 5, 1924, he wrote to me:

About one-third of the total have touches of the inevitable; about two-thirds are not at all inevitable, are derived from books and reading with too little of life or brooding. If 132 (*The Birth of the Idol*) had some

music of thanks at the end for at least the privilege of having seen the panorama it murmurs of, it would round out its life more completely. It hurts to pick prize poems publicly! I won't do it again for years.²

Remembering his letter to George Bond, in 1924 I asked Sandburg to write a brief Foreword to *The Prairie Pegasus*, a selection of poems written by the "Makers." Mrs. Sandburg wrote me that much to his regret her husband must decline. He was under pressure from his publisher to meet a deadline. The Foreword was written by Witter Bynner.

In the summer of 1924 when the University of Texas decided to discontinue the *Texas Review*, we brought it to Dallas and rechristened it the *Southwest Review*. Sandburg sent this excellent bit of advice to the inexperienced editors (George Bond, Herbert Gambrell, and Jay Hubbell) to get into the pages of the *Review* "the five-gallon hat of the cowboy as well as the skyscrapers of Dallas and Denver."

In January, 1925, we published in the *Southwest Review* an article by Fred Lewis Pattee entitled "Recent Poetry and the *Ars Poetica*." Pattee was the best-known of all those who taught American literature, and he was a much better writer than most professors; but he held a much lower opinion of the New Poetry than we did. He was especially severe upon Sandburg's *Slabs of the Sunburnt West*. Later in that year when the poet returned for a second visit, he said to me: "You must have had your fingers crossed when you published Pattee's article." On the day after his lecture on this second visit he telephoned me from the *Dallas News* office that if I were free he would like for me to come downtown for a good talk. I had to tell him I couldn't come. As teacher, editor, and departmental chairman I had too many commitments to permit me to take time off for a long talk with a friendly poet.

I was not to see Sandburg again until the spring of 1929, and at that time I was at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina. Meanwhile in a letter that I cherish he wrote to me on March 29, 1928, from St. Petersburg, Florida:

I am down here "recharging the batteries." Next year perhaps we will make connections. Feakins is handling the schedules.

It is good to know that you are live and coming nicely, for I count you one of the early friends—of the days when friends were much needed.

²"The Birth of the Idol," which won the prize, was written by Ottys Sanders, one of the "Makers."

II. Duke University

The first of Sandburg's three visits to the Duke campus came in early April, 1929. On the platform in the Alice Baldwin Auditorium he was in good form and put on a good show, but when it ended he was very tired. He had only recently recovered from a bout with the flu. We took him over to the Union so that some of the students and faculty might meet him, but he slumped into a chair and was reluctant to talk to strangers.

The next morning I went to his hotel for a leisurely walk and talk. He asked me whether I had noticed that he had ended many of the chapters in *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (1926) with little poems printed as prose. "If poeple don't like my poems printed as verse," he said, "perhaps they will accept them when they are disguised as prose." By 1929 Sandburg no doubt knew that the vogue of the New Poetry was passing and that the favorite poets of the younger generation were those two expatriates Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot. Sandburg also no doubt had noticed that the ablest of the younger writers were writing novels and short stories. Nevertheless he had no intention of abandoning poetry even while deeply involved in writing his monumental biography of Lincoln.

For lunch I brought Sandburg to the Faculty Apartments on the East Campus where Lucinda and I were living then with our two small boys. At lunch the poet was good fun laughing and joking with the boys. David, who was six years old, said to the poet: "Mr. Sandburg, one of those apples in the bowl on the table is artificial, but the others are real. Can you tell me which is which?" Sandburg carefully inspected the apples, shook his head, and said: "David, one of my eyes is a glass eye. Can you tell me which is which? And one of the fingers on my left hand is cork but the others are real, can you tell me which one is cork?" We all laughed, but during the rest of the meal I saw David occasionally taking a sly look at the poet's eyes but he didn't say anything. By this time both boys were old enough to enjoy reading the *Rootabaga Stories*, and the copy that Sandburg inscribed for Jay Jr. is pretty well worn.

When I first read Sandburg's "Caboose Thoughts," I was struck by the similarity of its theme to that of the old Anglo-Saxon poem "Deor's Lament." Deor was a minstrel who when he found himself supplanted by a rival, consoled himself by remembering others who suffered misfortunes from which they recovered. Each stanza closes

with the refrain: "That passed; this may pass also." These are the three lines with which Sandburg's poem opens and concludes:

It's going to come out all right—do you know,
The sun, the birds, the grass—they know.
They get along— and we'll get along.

When I asked Sandburg if he had ever read "Deor's Lament," he said: "No, but I'd like to." I showed him a modern version of the poem. After he had read it he said to me: "It is a beautiful poem, but I never saw it before."

In the afternoon Lucinda and I drove the poet to Greensboro to save him a tedious ride on the local train which stopped at every station. We put him on the back seat with a pillow so that if he wished he might lie down. He talked with us for a while, but a little later Lucinda whispered to me: "He's asleep."

On April 19, 1929, I wrote to Sandburg:

Your visit here did us a lot of good. I have heard no end of comments and questions since you left. And our students and faculty need to have you again. For me personally, your visit was a great treat and I hope it won't be long before you come back.

In his reply to my letter Sandburg wrote on May 11: "It is a good memory I have of the ride with you from Durham to Greensboro."

Sandburg was not to come back to Duke University until April, 1943, but during those fourteen years he and I occasionally exchanged letters. On April 16, 1931, I wrote him a letter which contained three Lincoln items all of which interested him:

Dear Mr. Sandburg:

I send you a reprint of a brief article on Lincoln. It really amounts to very little.

Has anyone ever called your attention to some lines in a speech made by Senator Robert Toombs in 1850 which bear a resemblance to parts of the Gettysburg Address? Here is the beginning of Toombs's speech:

"Sixty-three years ago our fathers joined together to form a more perfect Union, and to establish justice.... We have now met to put that government on trial.... In my opinion judgment the verdict is such as to give hope to the friends of liberty throughout the world."

All I know about it is found on page 335 of Richard H. Shryock's *Georgia and the Union* in 1850, published by the Duke University Press. Shryock is a member of the History department here. The quotation from Toombs is evidently taken from the Washington (Ga.) *Republic* for December 30, 1850.

With best wishes, I am
Sincerely yours,
Jay B. Hubbell

One of my students here, Roy P. Basler, is just completing a doctor's dissertation which is a study of the novels, plays, and poems that deal with Lincoln—the Lincoln legend, so to speak. I hope it will be published in a year or two. This is a book I meant to write myself, but alas, there are too many things I want to do—and Basler is doing a good job of it.

Lincoln students have known for many years that the concluding paragraph of the First Inaugural Address represents a masterly rewriting of a paragraph written for his consideration by his Secretary of State William H. Seward. In my brief article, "Lincoln's First Inaugural Address," printed in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1931, I pointed out that Seward's paragraph is in large measure based upon a passage in the *Federalist* in which in 1787 James Madison made a strong plea for the Union. On April 23, 1931, Sandburg wrote to me:

Seward probably had Madison's passage in mind or was unconsciously influenced by it as you suggest. For me, in this particular little area the triumphant play was Lincoln's changing "The Guardian Angels of the Nation" by Seward to "The Better Angels of our Nation [Nature]." . . . It was good to see your signature again. I should like to come to Duke and the University of North Carolina in the next year or two. . . . You were finely thoughtful on my last visit; it stays as a good memory.

On October 27, 1933, Sandburg wrote me the following letter:

Dear Jay Hubbell:

When it came to doing my chapter on Lincoln's Gettysburg address recently I made use of the quotation which you sent me from an 1850 speech of Toombs. I thank you for having been so thoughtful as to send

on that document. And all of that entirely aside I send you oldtime greetings and hope you have all of your oldtime courage and intestinal fortitude.

Faithfully yours,
Carl Sandburg

I had in fact planned to write a book on the Lincoln literary legend, but I could not foresee a time when I might take a year off to write it. I felt, too, that even if I wrote the book, it might divert me from my proper field for research and teaching. And, besides, here was Roy Basler, a very promising graduate student from Lincoln's Middle West, looking for a dissertation subject. And so I turned over to him such materials as I had collected; and I had the pleasure of seeing him, with a minimum of direction on my part, complete a study which in 1946 Carl Sandburg would call "one of the most able studies we have of the man and myth, the beliefs and the make-believes, that give Lincoln a place among the foremost voices of our modern world."

The Lincoln Legend, which Basler dedicated to me, was published by the Houghton Mifflin Company in 1935. The 1930's were years of the Great Depression, and Basler had to pay the printer's bill. He was fortunate, however, for the Book-of-the-Month Club recommended *The Lincoln Legend* as an alternate choice. 1936 was the year of a Presidential election, and I remember seeing in the *New York Times* a large picture of the Republican candidate, Governor Alf Landon, with a copy of Basler's book in his hand. Basler got his money back from the publisher.

The Lincoln Legend was only the first of Basler's many contributions to Lincoln scholarship. In 1947 he became editor of the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* and Secretary of the Abraham Lincoln Association, under whose sponsorship he would edit the eight volumes of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* in 1953. From 1952 until his retirement in 1974 Basler served the Library of Congress in various capacities, notably as Chief of the Manuscript Division.

Sometime in 1935 I wrote to Sandburg asking permission to reprint some of his best-known poems in my *American Life in Literature* (1936). He replied on December 21, 1935:

I hope you will forgive my delay but I have been hard driven this fall and winter. If it is not too late I would suggest that the first three pieces

you name, "Chicago," "Fog," "Lost" have been overused. Any one of several passages from "The Windy City" has more validity for this hour than "Chicago." Among short pieces that might have anthology freshness: "Upstream," "Primer Lesson" (Slabs of the Sunburnt West) and "Cheap Blue," "Snatch of Sliphorn Jazz" (Good Morning America). . . .

You stay in my memory as an old friend and an early one and I hope the ways of time and tide will throw us together again soon.

I understood the poet's feeling about poems which had appeared in one anthology after another, and I of course complied with his wishes. I did not care for the poems he suggested, and I wondered if, as in the case of Walt Whitman and other poets, the author did not know which were his best poems. The poems I included were "Washington Monument by Night," "Nocturne in a Deserted Brickyard," "Cool Tombs," "Caboose Thoughts," "Clean Curtains," "Four Preludes on Playthings of the Wind," and "For You."

When Dr. and Mrs. Josiah Trent gave to the Duke University Library their magnificent Walt Whitman collection, they asked that Carl Sandburg be engaged as the main speaker for the dedication ceremony which took place in Page Auditorium on April 12, 1943. His fee was \$600. The other speaker was Professor Sculley Bradley of the University of Pennsylvania. As a guest of the University Sandburg was given a room in University House (the old Ben Duke homestead). At the dinner given in his honor Sandburg was immediately on friendly terms with all those lucky enough to be guests on that occasion. At the dinner he sat next to Lucinda, who told him how she and I with two sons in the U. S. Army had listened on our short-wave radio to Ezra Pound in Italy broadcasting propaganda for Mussolini.

Of Sandburg's address, which seemed to me one of his best, I remember little except his spirited reading of his "Letter to Dimitri Shostakovich" and what he said of Ezra Pound. He was deeply saddened, he said, to learn from "an old friend" the story of an American poet who could sink so low as to broadcast for an infamous Fascist dictator what sounded to his countrymen like treason. It seemed to Sandburg incredible that this could happen to a poet who had done so much to purify the language of poetry and to win a hearing for so many able writers of a younger generation.

Sandburg's last visit to the Duke campus came in 1950. The University Woman's Club had arranged for his lecture. I met his

train and brought him out to the Baldwin Auditorium where he was shortly to speak. We had hardly got to the little waiting room just off the platform when one of the ushers rushed up to me and said: "Dr. Hubbell, Mrs. Russell says you are to introduce him." I was surprised, but I did the best I could under the circumstances. After the lecture Sandburg said to me: "Why did you make your introduction so short? Shouldn't you have done a little more to ingratiate the speaker into favor with his audience?" "Yes, of course," I said, "but nobody told me I was to introduce you until you were ready to go out on the platform." During the lecture there was another surprise for me. When the poet got out his guitar and began plucking the strings, Lucinda and I were amazed to hear him say: "I owe this guitar to my old friend Jay Hubbell." I never owned a guitar, and not until the next day did we learn that the guitar belonged to Alec the son of my English colleague William Blackburn.

The day after the lecture I took Sandburg to the Rare Book Room for a look at the Trent Whitman collection. He never said anything to me about the extent of the Whitman influence on his own poetry, but he told Clarence Gohdes, one of the best of Whitman scholars, that his own verses had no merit until he stopped trying to write like Whitman. On this occasion, however, Sandburg's mind was not on Whitman but on the address that William Faulkner had recently made in Stockholm when he received the Nobel Prize. "It has beauty and it has truth, and it moves me deeply; but you can't find a word of it in his books." A later generation than Sandburg's (and mine) has understood Faulkner better.

III. Flat Rock

I taught my last class at Duke University in June, 1954, at the age of sixty-nine, but I was to teach or lecture at half a dozen other universities in the next seven years. In several instances I was filling in for friends and former students who were going abroad on Fulbright assignments. In the spring of 1956 I was at Clemson University substituting for Professor Claud B. Green, a friend and former student, who was lecturing in Australian universities. One day in May Professor Morris Cox, another friend and former student, said to me: "Flat Rock is only about ninety miles from Clemson. Let's drive up there and call on Carl Sandburg. Maybe he

would be willing to write his name in the library's Sandburg books." That I thought was an excellent idea. I wrote the poet a note warning him that we were coming by soon for a brief visit and telling him of our mission.

In Flat Rock after some difficulty we found "Connemara," the Sandburg house, high up on a hill with a magnificent view. Mrs. Sandburg's herd of goats was feeding in an adjacent field. Sandburg looked older than on his last appearance at Duke. He told me he had stopped smoking. I remembered the long Pittsburgh stogies that he used to smoke. He told us he had sold his Lincoln collection to the University of Illinois library. The huge basement where he had kept the books looked very empty.

"Connemara," he told us, had been the summer home of a Charlestonian by the name of Memminger. Christopher Gustavus Memminger, I remembered, had been Secretary of the Treasury in Jefferson Davis's cabinet. Before the Civil War many of the Low-Country planter families had spent their summers in the North Carolina mountains. On the walls of the historic Flat Rock church, St. John's in the Wilderness, there are memorials with the names of many of these once prominent families. When I returned to Durham, I went to my attic to find a copy of a booklet published by the Trinity College Historical Society, Lawrence May Brewster's *The Summer Migrations and Resorts of South Carolina Low-Country Planters*. I sent it to Sandburg, but I don't think he had any strong interest in those whose wealth was based on cotton plantations cultivated by slaves.

Meanwhile Morris Cox was taking some excellent pictures of the poet, some of them with me in them. He has given copies of them to the Jay B. Hubbell Center. We brought the Sandburgs some of the delicious Clemson blue cheese. As a parting gift the poet gave me a little book of photographs taken by Mrs. Sandburg's brother Edward Steichen. I shall always cherish the inscription he wrote in it: "Ancient affection still wearing well." In August, 1967, Lucinda and I with our sons and grandchildren were in Flat Rock, but we were too late to see the poet. Our friend Carl Sandburg had died on July 22 at the age of eighty-nine.

IV. Sandburg's Eightieth Birthday

On January 8, 1958, there was in Raleigh a public dinner in honor of the Middle Western poet who had chosen to make his last home in

North Carolina. Lucinda and I would have liked to have a part with other North Carolinians in honoring the friend whom we had first met thirty-five years earlier; but in January, 1958, I was teaching at Columbia University and we were living in New York. We couldn't go, but one of our friends and neighbors, Charles Richard Sanders, was there, and I wish to record here his account of his conversation with Carl Sandburg. In the world of scholarship Richard Sanders is best known as the editor of the letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle.

In that darkest hour when Winston Churchill became England's Prime Minister he said when he addressed the British Parliament on May 13, 1940: "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat." Like thousands of other Americans, Dr. Sanders was deeply moved by that speech, but for him there was also something familiar in those eloquent monosyllables. He remembered a passage in *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (1926) in which Sandburg had described the hardships of the young Lincoln's life in Indiana: "Beyond Indiana was something else, beyond the timber and the underbrush, the malaria, the milk-sick, blood, sweat, tears, hands hard and crooked as the roots of walnut trees, there must be something else" (pp. 38-39). We find here only three of Churchill's memorable monosyllables, but the substance of the fourth, "toil," is clearly revealed in the allusion to the rail-splitter's hard and crooked hands.

After the war Sanders, still wondering whether Churchill had read *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*, wrote to him in February, 1946, while the great statesman was in Washington asking him whether there was any relationship between his speech and *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*. The reply to his letter came from Dorothy Dejean of the British Embassy's Information Office. She explained that "the flow of correspondence which Mr. Churchill has been receiving since his arrival in this country has been too great for him to cope with personally." She added:

I feel quite sure that Mr. Churchill had read Carl Sandburg's book "Lincoln: The Prairie Years" but whether the phrase "blood, sweat and tears" came from that book or whether Mr. Churchill made it up from his own very lively imagination, I am afraid I am not competent to say.

That was in 1946. Twelve years later Sanders found an opportunity to ask Carl Sandburg the question for which he failed

to get an answer from Churchill. This is his account of his conversation with the poet written in 1965:

In 1958, at the dinner given in Raleigh, North Carolina, to honor Sandburg on his eightieth birthday, I had a moment or two in which to chat with him. I reminded him of the phrase in his book and asked him whether there was any direct connection between it and the "blood, sweat, and tears" of Churchill's famous speech. He answered promptly that he did not really know but that the chances were that he and Churchill had both read the same old book, "possibly something published in the seventeenth century," and had both borrowed the phrase unconsciously. The reply was altogether spontaneous and delightful.

Another writer would have been quick to lay claim to a part in Churchill's famous speech, but not Carl Sandburg. There was in his character, as in Churchill's and Lincoln's, that blend of the manly virtues which the writers of the Renaissance summed up in the word "Magnanimity."

The Lionel Stevenson Collection of Canadiana at Duke University

Christopher M. Armitage*

Lionel Stevenson, born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1902, emigrated at the age of five with his family to Vancouver Island. He graduated from the University of British Columbia as a B.A. at nineteen, from the University of Toronto as an M.A. at twenty, and from the University of California as a Ph.D. at twenty-two. Two years later he published his first scholarly book, *Appraisals of Canadian Literature*. Half a century later it retains its validity, as indicated by the inclusion of excerpts from it in the section of critical essays in the 1974 edition of *A Canadian Anthology*, edited by Carl Klinck and Reginald Watters.

Stevenson taught for forty-three years at Arizona State, Southern California, and Duke Universities; at all three he served as English Department chairman, for a total of twenty-three years. Several times he returned to the University of British Columbia to teach summer school, and he was particularly happy to become in 1973 the first holder of the Distinguished Professorship of English at U.B.C. During his tenure of that post at his alma mater, he died suddenly at Christmas time in 1973.

Stevenson's interest in and collecting of Canadian literature extended from his high school days to his death. He donated to Perkins Library at Duke his collection of nearly six hundred Canadian books, many of them first editions, published between the 1860's and the 1960's. They include works of poetry, fiction, literary criticism, essays, travels, and history. Many of them are virtually

*The author is grateful for the assistance provided by a Faculty Enrichment Grant from the Canadian Embassy in Washington, D.C.

Editor's Note: The editor gratefully acknowledges permission of the editor of *The American Review of Canadian Studies* to reprint Mr. Armitage's article which was read before the ACSUS biennial conference at the University of Vermont in October 1977 and first published in the Autumn 1977 number of the ARCS.

unknown outside of Canada, and some are listed in Watter's *Checklist of Canadian Literature and Background Materials, 1628-1960* without any library being cited as possessing a copy.

The books include several sets or series. The four volumes of *The Scot in British North America* by W. J. Rattray, published between 1880 and 1884, are present, as are all thirty-two volumes of *The Chronicles of Canada*, published during the 1920's. Some are autographed by their authors, and one contains a note that the real author is Stewart Wallace, not the person officially named (Alfred De Celles, *The Patriotes of '37: A Chronicle of the Lower Canada Rebellion*). There is a run of *The Ryerson Poetry Chapbooks*, from No. 1 in 1925 to No. 198 in 1960, though some of the intervening numbers are missing. That is also the case with the annual *Saskatchewan Poetry Book 1939-1953*, and the annual *Victoria Poetry Chapbook 1935-1970*.

Authors who are represented by between six and twenty-four books each are Arthur Bourinot, Wilfred Campbell, Bliss Carman, Annie Dalton, Wilson MacDonald, Tom MacInnes, Isobel MacKay, Thomas O'Hagan, E. J. Pratt, Charles G. D. Roberts, D. C. Scott, Ernest Thomson Seton, A. M. Stephen, Arthur Stringer, and Robert Watson. Approximately eighty of the authors are connected with western Canada, especially British Columbia. Often, these western books were privately printed, usually in Vancouver, and some seem to be very rare. They vary from slim collections of sometimes gushy verse about the sublimities of British Columbia through reports of the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association of Vancouver, to pamphlets with such titles as *Totems and Chief Mathias Joe Capilano* (autographed by the chief) and *Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon*. A few are downright eccentric. The pseudonymous Buckskin published in 1916 a five-act verse drama entitled *The Passing of the Buffalo*, in which the *dramatis personae* include Indians, Mounties, U. S. troopers, wolves, grizzlies, coyotes, and (of course) buffalo. *Songs of a Sick Tum-Tum* by "Skookum Chuck" is autographed "R. D. Cumming, Ashcroft, B.C.," who in fact is the author. "Jay Jingle," i.e., James Morton of Victoria, B.C., wrote *The Singular Travels of Medius Middleman: Entries from the Journal of his Adventures with Similus Buljo in the lands of Obesia and Exigua*. The book concerns the travels of the two men to Obesia, meaning Britain, where the inhabitants over-eat, to Exigua, the U.S.A., where the lean inhabitants chew tobacco. The travellers come from a nation which

is poised between the two countries and which is designated the Land of Mediocrity. Another aspiring humorist, Sterling Brannan, had printed in Fredericton in 1947 *Snacks: Original Epigrams, Paragraphs, Brief Verse, etc.* which includes such entries as "It is best to duck a quack doctor" and "Don't take an axe to chop suey."

In addition to the collection of Canadian books, Duke University is also the repository of the substantial collection of the letters Lionel Stevenson received during the half-century from 1920, sent by writers as diverse as Theodore Dreiser and Daphne DuMaurier. Approximately a third of this collection, of which I am engaged in writing a descriptive catalogue, came from Canadians.

Among the famous Canadian writers with whom Stevenson corresponded is Charles Mair, who in 1920 was eighty-two years old when he exhorted the eighteen-year-old U.B.C. junior that while "a pure and virile English" was to be used, "sensationalism has to be controlled, sensuality to be avoided." Apparently the poems which the young poet sent to him met Mair's criteria, for in 1921 he praised Stevenson for "draw[ing] from a well of English undefiled." Mair went on to say that as a boy he had read Coleridge's "Christabel" with wonder and delight, and that free verse is only "a fad of those weary of Tennyson." These opinions are reflected in Mair's own poetic practice. Similarly, his career as a "Canada Firster," storekeeper, paymaster, opponent and prisoner of Louis Riel, and civil servant may be seen in his pronouncement that "most of our great writers did not rely entirely on writing for a living . . . and were rather the better for taking a part in practical affairs."

In the mid-1920's, Stevenson got into correspondence with all surviving three of the so-called Confederation poets: Charles G. D. Roberts, Bliss Carman, and Duncan Campbell Scott. In 1925 Roberts praised the poem "British Columbia Vignettes" by Stevenson, whom he had not met, and enclosed a photograph of himself, Carman, and Hathaway. At several subsequent Christmases, Roberts sent cards consisting of poems he had written (a practice Stevenson also cultivated throughout his life). Several times Stevenson invited Carman to read his poetry at Berkeley. Finally, in April 1927, Carman came, writing afterwards that he had greatly enjoyed his day there and that now he was heading "Eastward Ho, where spring is beginning, and the red-shouldered blackbird is already calling from the marshes." Over the next twelve months Carman sent letters praising two of Stevenson's articles published in *The Canadian Bookman*. One of them, on "The

Modern in Poetry," Carman declared to be "always penetrating and rational," and indicated some of his own views on modern poetry by applauding the human touch in the poetry of Edgar Lee Masters and Edwin Arlington Robinson.

Duncan Campbell Scott sent a typed copy of his poem, "The Mower," bearing the date 17 February 1923. This was followed in 1927 by a review from *The Manchester Guardian Weekly* approving Stevenson's *Appraisals of Canadian Literature*, Scott adding, "I was glad to see them praise such an excellent piece of work." The friendship obviously continued in the interval between then and the next letter, of 1940, as in it Scott referred to a conversation he had had with Stevenson about the Romantic poets. Scott wrote that he had in the meantime discovered that Landor influenced Shelley but seems not to have influenced Keats at all. Scott said that he had sent an article by Stevenson to the *Queen's Quarterly*. A few days later he wrote again to say that the article had been returned but, as "the Secretary has taken the cream off the paper," Scott decided, in spite of his high opinion of it, not to send it to the *Dalhousie Review*.

Among well-known Canadian prose writers with whom Stevenson corresponded are Stephen Leacock, who wrote regretting that he had to cancel a lecture tour of California in 1925 because his wife had had a very serious operation, and Gilbert Parker, who declined two invitations to speak. Frederick Philip Grove sent an interesting account of his goals, in a letter which does not appear in his *Letters* edited by Desmond Pacey (1976).

In his *Appraisals of Canadian Literature* (1926) Stevenson wrote of Grove's *Settlers of the Marsh*:

In the manner of Hardy and Hamsun, the author studies the spiritual disintegration of his hero, against a background of the daily routine of homestead life and the lovely and terrible forces of nature . . . As a narrative of profound spiritual crisis influenced by a typical Canadian setting, this novel . . . might claim to be the great novel of the country were it not that the theme, though honestly and sanely presented, proves repellent to many readers. (pp. 136-7)

On 15 December 1926, during his fourteenth week of convalescing from a back injury, Grove wrote to Stevenson:

. . . I wish to say that I quite agree with the criticism implied. The theme is repellent. If I live and people will read me to the extent of providing a living for me, there will be more repellent themes. I just can't help it. I can only write about what I have personally reacted to . . . I might also

say that I intend one day to write that book which you call the "great novel of the country"—if I live and am able to work, for I am conceited enough to think that I can do it. But for the moment my problem is to make a living by hackwriting and to make \$100 a month do for the expenses of a family, while incidentally I work over some of my oldest writings. I have no ambition except to live one day, when I am dead, through my books.

It might interest you to know that I had never read a line of Hardy's and no book of Hamsun's except *Hunger* when I wrote the *Settlers*—which, of course, is in no way a criticism of your criticism. Professor Woodhouse of Winnipeg put *The Return of the Native* into my hands after he had listened to a reading of mine from the *Settlers*. Five other novels, some with unpleasant themes, are running the gauntlet of publishers. Well, thanks again.

Yours in pleasant memories,
F. P. Grove

In 1948, Robert Service wrote, in a tone which suggests an established friendship, to ask that his daughter might attend Stevenson's lectures. He added that he would be buying Stevenson's new book, *The Showman of Vanity Fair*, as Thackeray's verse had always been a great inspiration to him. Service declared that during the winter he had written over sixty pieces, "bourgeois verse for kitchen consumption, many of them written to the click of the roulette tables" in Monte Carlo, "a lovely place to work."

Every few years between 1937 and 1955 letters came from E. J. Pratt. These discussed their respective publications and domestic matters such as his daughter's spinal operation. One declared that Stevenson was a loyal friend of Canadian homebrews and would receive a good stag party when he came to Toronto. (Presumably this would have been a decorous stag party.)

For twenty-one years, starting in 1938, Stevenson received an average of a letter each year from Earle Birney. The earliest lamented the low salaries being paid to academics, and succeeding letters charted Birney's involvement in World War II and postwar activities as editor of *Canadian Poetry Monthly*, author of *Turvey*, etc. In November 1941 he commented on the forthcoming poem *David*, which was to establish his fame, thus: "I'm afraid it's rank melodrama though it didn't start out to be," and worried whether the assonantal stanzas in which the poem is written would prove suitable. Another interesting sidelight comes out in his anxious request in 1959 that Stevenson advise him about which American

magazines might publish his poems and thereby increase the sales of his forthcoming *Selected Poems*.

Not surprisingly, the collection includes letters from numerous well-known American, British, and Canadian academics. Among the Canadians are W. J. Alexander, Pelham Edgar, and A. S. P. Woodhouse of the University of Toronto; Sherwood Fox and Frank Stiling of the University of Western Ontario; and several from the University of British Columbia. These include Garnet Sedgewick, Head of the English Department, who reluctantly advised Stevenson, on completing his Ph.D., to stay in California because it offered much better career opportunities than Canada did; Geoffrey Riddehough, Stevenson's contemporary at U.B.C., who completed a doctorate in Paris in 1936 only to find that he was rehirable at half the salary he received in 1928; Professor Larsen who wrote about the way U.B.C. was growing in the 1930's in spite of a 60% cut in government grants; and L. S. Klinck, President of the University, who asked Stevenson to host U.B.C. personnel who were visiting Oxford while he was working on his B. Litt. there in the mid-1930's, and subsequently thanked him for having done so.

The Canadian correspondents were not confined to writers and academics. Persons in governmental affairs with whom Stevenson corresponded include W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist and National Librarian; Alfred Rive, Canadian Ambassador to the Republic of Ireland; and Roland Michener, Governor General of Canada, who sent acknowledgements for a letter about the death of his daughter in 1969. Perhaps the most interesting of letters from a political source is one from William Lyon Mackenzie King, to whom Stevenson sent a copy of his article, "The significance of Canadian Literature." The Prime Minister replied on 28 March 1925:

. . . Our literature [is] still in a somewhat chrysalis state . . . The analogy you make, between the revival of English Poetry in the nineteenth century and our efforts, bids us be of good cheer! . . . I wonder why you omit William Wilfred Campbell . . .—a very close friend of mine, but quite apart from that I believe him to be one of our noblest poets.

To your list of novels and novelists there might be added "This Little Life" by Miss J. G. Sime, also "The Divine Lady" by E. Barrington, the first a truly Canadian tale of the genre type [sic].

There is an amusing side to the supposed absence of E. Barrington from the list, since Stevenson did discuss several of the books she

wrote under her real name, Lily Adams Beck. Apparently her disguise was one feminine secret which the Prime Minister had not penetrated.

The letters contain many interesting comments on political and historical events of their day. The view that "the soul of Canada was born during the Great War" crops up in the unexpected context of a 1922 letter from A. M. Stephen, whose letters mainly concerned theosophy and poetry. Annie Dalton wrote in dismay in December 1936 about Edward VIII's involvement with "that woman." Later, after being awarded an M.B.E., she said that the Canadian Prime Minister ought not to prevent Canadians receiving such awards, as they were the only recognition Canadian artists got.

Ernest Fewster, a Vancouver M.D. and visionary poet, offered the opinion in September 1940 that the U.S. was more concerned about the war than Canada was. Soon after the attack on Pearl Harbor, he expressed confidence in America's ability to "lick the Japs," and was derisive about the Nazi claims of racial superiority. At the end of the war, however, he was lamenting that "scum" from the prairies had migrated to Vancouver and were responsible for the rise in crime.

Equally strong and more colorfully phrased were the opinions of the writer Glyn Ward, i.e., Mrs. Hilda Glyn Howard. She wrote in the late 1930's that Premier Patullo was ruining B.C. and everyone there had the wind up about the Japanese invading it. Ironically, on the eve of Pearl Harbor, she was being investigated by the RCMP because of her activities in behalf of Indians on Vancouver Island, who, she considered, were being abused. She claimed that Caldwell of the C.C.F. had promised to raise the matter in the House of Commons but failed to do so. By 1943 she considered that Canada was becoming more Nazified every day and that W.L.M. King's war policy was inept. The Korean War brought forth her protest at "British regiments being at the mercy of that crack-brained boastful jackass MacArthur" and her denunciation of the United Nations as a "silly conglomeration of chattering magpies."

Wilson MacDonald also objected to the Second World War, but from the perspective of a pacifist. At the end of 1939 he prophesied, "War is never the way to victory, for the victor is always the loser." He believed that his pacifism was the reason for his popularity being zero and for his being able to earn only \$425 during 1942. Subsequently, his popularity increased: he received three letters from Albert Einstein praising his poetry; and in 1962 he received a

royalty check for \$647 from Moscow for the sale of one of his books at 17¢ each, of which he got 2¢ per copy. (Since he claimed that 50,000 copies had been sold, someone had apparently taken a 35% cut of his royalties.)

Aside from these letters from well-known personalities, there are many from unknown people to whom Stevenson had clearly extended friendship, advice, and encouragement on literary and other matters. Some of the letters of thanks he received are very moving and attest to his generosity, which culminated in the gift of his *Canadiana* to Duke University.

resonantia. *¶ Vincitur ex rapto: rapina. § Non hospes ab hospite tu-
tus: hospitem, tam qui hospitio alium suscipit, quam qui fuscipit,
appellamus. § Gratia: concordia, sicut ante & Hesiodus:
Οὐδὲ παρὸς παῖδας οὐκ οἶσιν, ἰδὲ τῶν παίδων
Οὐδὲ, ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς παῖσιν, ἰσχυρὸς ἰσχυρῶ.*

Οὐδὲ navi, tunc quibus
πῶς, ἢ τὸ πᾶσι πᾶσι,
Αἰετὶ δὲ τὸν ἀνέστησαν, ἀνέ-
στησαν αἰετὶς.

*§ Lucida nigra ab effectu,
q. nigra corpora corū, qui
illis comederunt, efficiunt.
§ Aconiti: vena. nam a-
conium herba est maxime
venenosa, ex ipsius Cerbe-
ri canis primum in coctibus
nata, unde et nomen accepit,
nam ἄκοντις, q. cōle
dedicatum, unde aconiti est
significatum. § Terribiles no-
uerca: q. crudelis in priu-
genis. Nouerca autem dici-
tur, ut scribit Pomp. quam
quos liberis sublati, novā
uxorem ducit, arcende fa-
milie gratia. § Inquisit in
patris annos: utrum mul-
tos annos pater sit victus*,
an paucos, fortis leges filius
constituit.*

RAPH.

*§ VICTA iacet pietas:
superata, inquit, ab impietate
pietas contemnitur.
Proprie autem pietas dicitur
cultus, u. m. d. p. patrie,
parentibus, sanguine con-
iunctis debemus. § Iacet in
nullo est precio. § Virgo A-
straea hoc est iustitia, quae
Altrai Gigantis filia fuisse
dicitur. *¶ Virgatus, vel lo-
mus, & Themidis, ut Hesio-
dus tradit, alio autem nomine
dixit ab utroque poeta appella-
tur. § Cade: sanguis effu-
sione. ab eo enim, quod præ-
cedit, id quod sequitur, est
intelligendum. c. edes uero
precedit, & sanguis effu-
sio sequitur.**

*N*æue foret terris securior ardens æther,
Altaq. congestos struxisse ad sidera montes.
Tum pater omnipotens misso persequit Olympum
fulmine, & excussit subitulum Pelion cæssæ.
Obruta mole sua cum corpora dira iacerent,
Persusam multo natorum sanguine terram,
Immaduisse ferunt, calidumq. animasse cruorem,
Et, ne nulla sua stirpis monumenta manerent,
In faciem uertisse hominum, sed & illa propago
Contemptrix superum, sæuæq. audissima cædis,
Olympum altissimus interdixit tamen pro ipso cælo pontum, quæsi
ἀδανάτωρ, hoc est, totus lucens, p. p. alia, quæsi p. p. illudratum, unde
Olympus Iup. fuit denominatus. Sex aut. Olympi esse perhibe-
tur, Macedonæ, Thessaliæ, in quo etiam Olympia fuisse cele-
brata Apollodorus ait. Mytic, Cilicæ, Elidis, Arcadæ, & ex cæ-
stris quatiēdo deiecit. § Pelion cæssæ: q. montes sunt Thessaliæ no-
tissimi. § Obruta mole sua: q. oppræsa sua ualitate, magnitudi-
ne, ac pondere. § Diræ corpora: q. crudelia, a deorum ira missa,
unde & diræ furæ dicitur. § Natorum sanguine: q. nam Gigan-
tes Terræ filij fuisse dicuntur. § Calidum, animasse cruorem:
hoc est, animam calido cruori immisisse. § Et ne nulla sua stirpis
monumenta manerent, in affirmationem conuerti certum est. § Monumenta sua
stirpis: q. in memoria sue prolis manerent, ac restarent, diæ enim ne-
qua quod ad posteritatem memoriam consuevit. Iup. autem cum
prolem significat, feminini est generis cum radice, truncum
ne significat, incerti. Virg. Imo, de stirpe reuoluit. Hor. Stupet
per captas, & pecus, & pecus, & pecus, & pecus, & pecus, & pecus,
humana, ac denique, in homines non in finitas, ut quidam putat,
aut inuoluit, quæ et intelligamus terram gigantum sanguine
madefactam, in hemines criniales, Gigantiūque similes, inuoluit
ma defactam, in hemines criniales, Gigantiūque similes, inuoluit
ma defactam, in hemines criniales, Gigantiūque similes, inuoluit

MICY.



nos uocant oppressis, idē bellum mox a Typhoeo repetitum,
eundemq. a Ioue fulmine prostratum. Atque hinc postiora
bello ceteri assignant ea, quæ uulgo de Gigantomachia ser-
tur, unde et, deos in Aegyptum profugisse, aliosq. in alias for-
mas mutasse metē sese, donec a Iane, a quo & Iane terrores
dicti, Gigantes, & qui circa
Typhoei erant, pteriti, in
fuga conuenterent. Pri-
mo aut pugnā cum Titani
bus in campo l'helegro cō-
missam volūt, quod & Clau-
dianus innuere uidetur in
principio Gigantomachia,
ubi inquit:

*Terra patens: quondam
calefibus munda regni,
Tir, inuicque simul gra-
ues miserrata labores,
Omnia monstrifero com-
plebat tarara cætu,*

*Inausum genitura nefas,
Phlegæ, amque recepti*

*Tanta prole tuenti, &c.
Rursim alij Gigantum
pugnā a Typhoei causā se
parit, & Typhocum per se
deos in Aegyptum fugasse
tradunt. Gygates aut circa
Phlegæ, extructis alijs su-
per alios montibus, et cæ-
lum oppugnare uellent, a
Ioue fulmine detectos ful-
se. Quod eo hic addere
libuit, ne quis diuersitate
illa, qua poetas fabulis in-
ter se nascunt, atq. confun-
dunt, insensum fore iubeat.*

*Porro uidetur & hee
libula ex uero ingenium
traxisse, nā Gencæ, i. e. de
posteri Noe, eodem fere
modo legimus, turrim cona-
to, exuere, cuius culmen
caeli cōtingeret, sed & Deo
prohibito, qui confusione
lugarum ab incepto eos
auertit, unde & Babel no-
men loco mansit, quæ pos-
tea Babilonia dicta fuit. §
Ardui cætes: alium ex
lumi. § Affectasse: q. proprie
dicit, nam affectare signifi-
cat aliquid nimium appetere
, quod assequi non possit
reputante natura. § Olym-
pum: q. mons est Macedonæ*

Olympum altissimus interdixit tamen pro ipso cælo pontum, quæsi
ἀδανάτωρ, hoc est, totus lucens, p. p. alia, quæsi p. p. illudratum, unde
Olympus Iup. fuit denominatus. Sex aut. Olympi esse perhibe-
tur, Macedonæ, Thessaliæ, in quo etiam Olympia fuisse cele-
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tissimi. § Obruta mole sua: q. oppræsa sua ualitate, magnitudi-
ne, ac pondere. § Diræ corpora: q. crudelia, a deorum ira missa,
unde & diræ furæ dicitur. § Natorum sanguine: q. nam Gigan-
tes Terræ filij fuisse dicuntur. § Calidum, animasse cruorem:
hoc est, animam calido cruori immisisse. § Et ne nulla sua stirpis
monumenta manerent, in affirmationem conuerti certum est. § Monumenta sua
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humana, ac denique, in homines non in finitas, ut quidam putat,
aut inuoluit, quæ et intelligamus terram gigantum sanguine
madefactam, in hemines criniales, Gigantiūque similes, inuoluit
ma defactam, in hemines criniales, Gigantiūque similes, inuoluit

Typographic Ethnocentrism in Sixteenth-Century Venice

Harry L. Levy

Among the lesser treasures of the Perkins Library's Rare Book Room at Duke University is a quarto edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: Venice, Nicolaus Moretus, 1586 (shelf-mark E q096ML).

Experts in the field of Ovidian bibliography will recognize it as a fairly late edition of what Grundy Steiner¹ very properly calls the Regius-Micyllus commentary on the *Metamorphoses*, characterizing it as "one of the most important assembled in the Renaissance." The work consists of the *enarrationes* of Raphael Regius (ca. 1450-1520), first published at Venice in 1492-1493, as supplemented a half-century later (1543) by the notes of Iacobus Micyllus (Jakob Moltzer, 1503-1558).

But the non-expert will find nothing, or almost nothing, in the volume under discussion to inform him that he is dealing with the Regius commentary as expanded by Micyllus. Whereas the seven previous editions of the combined work have Micyllus' name immediately after Regius' (e.g. *cum novis Iacobi Micylli viri eruditissimi additionibus*) on the title-page, and follow this with explicit mention of Micyllus both in his prefatory note explaining the word *Metamorphosis* and in his cautionary announcement to the reader that his additions are enclosed in square brackets, the present edition passes over the junior author of the joint commentary with all but complete silence.

The title-page of our 1586 edition, after Regius' name, says simply *cum novis alterius viri eruditissimi additionibus*; the comment on the word *Metamorphosis* (word-for-word Micyllus') is here anonymous, as is the explanation of the square brackets, which are here said to enclose additions made *ab eruditissimo quodam viro*. In

¹*Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 49 (1950), 317-318.

other words, Micyllus' name has been deliberately expunged, in a manner which calls to mind the way in which, in the Roman Empire, the names of those who had suffered *damnatio memoriae* were chiselled off all public monuments.

Why this studied attempt to inflict oblivion on an admittedly erudite scholar? One might perhaps attribute the action to religious prejudice, for Moltzer was a famous reformer. However, a glance backward at the history of Venetian printings of Regius' commentary suggests a different interpretation.

In 1510 the Dominican *praedicator* Petrus Lavinius of Langres in the Haute-Marne published at Lyons a rather pretentious moralistic-allegorical ("tropological") commentary on *Metamorphoses* I. He or his publisher Claudius Davost (alias de Troys) appropriated for Lavinius' commentary on the opening of the *Metamorphoses* the first place in the volume, forcing the commentary of Regius on the same passage into second place. The same procedure is followed throughout the book, so that the unwary reader might gain the impression that Lavinius was the leading commentator, Regius the runner-up.

This strange *hysteron proteron* was followed in the Lyons editions of 1511 (Wolf), 1512 (Sacon), 1513 (Robionus), 1516 (Myt), and 1518 (Bevilaqua), and in the Milan editions of 1517 (Scincenzeler) and 1518 (Gorgonzola).

But when Regius' commentary with Lavinius' supplement to Book I came back to Venice to be printed a quarter-century after the first appearance there of Regius' *enarrationes*, the Venetian printer Ioannes Tacuinus de Tridino would have nothing to do with this preposterous order. Without comment, letting the action speak louder than words, he simply put Regius' commentary in first place throughout. Now here no religious prejudice against a doctrinal deviant can be posited: our tropological innovator was no heretical reformer, but, as we have seen, a preacher of the Dominican order, who tells us that he took himself away with difficulty from his ecclesiastical duties during the Lenten fast of 1510, and left the *Metamorphoses* at the end of Book I to return to the pulpit.

That the Venetian de Tridino in 1518 and again in 1534, Rusco in 1521, Rusco's widow in 1527, and de Bindonibus in 1540, all likewise Venetians, follow the rule of "Venetians first," can, in my judgment, be attributed to nothing but a strong feeling for their magnificent *patria* and for the honor of its citizens; in other words, what we now know all too well as ethnocentrism.

Let us return now to the Regius-Micyllus commentary of 1586 which we have been studying in its Duke University exemplar. Apparently ethnocentrism varied, as is to be expected, from Venetian to Venetian; for in 1574, Ioannes Gryphius of Venice was quite content to give Jakob Moltzer of Strasbourg his due; it was from his title-page that the parenthetical quotation in the third paragraph of this article was taken; Micyllus is duly mentioned wherever it is appropriate in the 1574 Venice edition. A dozen years later, however, Nicolaus Moretus of Venice changed all that. He seems to have taken a copy of Gryphius' edition, and, before handing it to his compositor, to have crossed out Micyllus' name wherever it occurred, or to have substituted an anonymous expression, thus preventing an outlander's name from intruding into what Moretus seems to have felt was a particularly Venetian preserve.

Now it is said that a good liar needs a good memory. It seems also that a would-be expunger should be, or would have at his disposal, an excellent proofreader. But here Moretus fell short. For on page 9 of our edition, in the margin at the lower left-hand side, next to a Micyllan note enclosed in square brackets, we find printed in clear Roman capitals the four letters MICY., exactly the siglum so often used in other editions to mark Micyllus' contributions! Apparently here the compositor overlooked his instructions to excise every indication of Micyllus' name, and neither Moretus nor any of his staff caught the blunder.

Thus fraudulent suppression, like murder, will out, and Moltzer is, in this small way, avenged. For as long as the Duke Rare Book Room, and its sister repositories, preserve this interesting human—as well as humanistic—document, our Strasbourgian scholar will receive at least minimal honor in all eight editions of the Regius-Micyllus commentary which came out during his lifetime, instead of in only seven.

Thomas Moorman Simkins, Jr. (1915-1978)

Thomas Moorman Simkins, Jr., scholar and musician, teacher and librarian, was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, 31 July 1915. His father and his mother, Emily Taylor Simkins, were members of distinguished North and South Carolina families.

Even when he was just a small boy listening to his mother read, Thomas Simkins had a great love of learning. He received his early education in Raleigh schools and afterward earned three degrees: Bachelor of Arts in Education in 1935 and Master of Arts in Classics in 1937 at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill; also, Bachelor of Arts in Library Science at Emory University in 1947. A Phi Beta Kappa key attests to his scholarship. He was not only a classicist but also a student of the eighteenth century and an Anglophile who was fascinated by the naval history and stirred by the literature of that century. He regarded Admiral, Lord Howe and controversial Admiral Bligh as old friends; he knew Alexander Pope and Samuel Johnson well. (Would anyone other than he—or his student assistants—know the name of Dr. Johnson's *other* cat?)

Music was an important part of his life. His tastes ran the gamut—from the rollicking tunes of Rossini and Sir Arthur Sullivan to stately Gregorian chants. He sang in choirs in both Chapel Hill and Raleigh, for many years played the piano for Sunday afternoon services at the state penitentiary, and in his last decade served as organist for religious services at Knollwood Manor, Raleigh. It was, however, as composer of sacred music that he reached remarkable heights. His anthems were sung in two Episcopal churches: The Chapel of the Cross, Chapel Hill, and his own spiritual home, The Church of the Good Shepherd, Raleigh. Often breath-taking in their beauty, his compositions include:

Organ Descant on the Hymn Tune “Irby” (*Once in Royal David’s City*: Hymnal 1940, no. 236) (1950)

“O Where Are Kings,” anthem based on Thomas Tallis’s Ordinal ca. 1567 (1962)

Air and Canon at the Tritone for Organ (1963)

“Light’s Abode, Celestial Salem,” anthem with mezzo-soprano solo (1963)

“Benedicte, Omnia Opera Domini Domino,” Plainsong Chant,
Tone IV, ending 4—arranged by TMS (1964)

His career as a teacher was short but satisfying. He taught Latin and mathematics in the Elizabeth City, North Carolina, High School in 1940 and was an instructor in the classics department at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill from 1940 until 1946. One of his Latin students, it might be noted, was Andy Griffith.

Thomas Simkins came to the Duke University Library in 1947. His first position as a librarian was that of serials cataloger. In 1948 he was appointed Curator of Rare Books, or—using the nautical language that he delighted in—he was commissioned captain to sail what was for him an untried ship on an uncharted sea.

His first shipmate (assistant, to the less imaginative) was Virginia Osborne, a young woman of great charm and quick perception. Their first quarters were small, overcrowded rooms. They knew little about the magnitude of their undertaking but, learning and working together, they soon had their ship on an even keel.

In 1949 they abandoned the cramped area they had occupied and moved into the beautiful Rare Book Room in the new addition to the building: it was as if an inadequate sloop had been transformed into a sleek, spacious six-masted schooner. The crew was enlarged gradually. Each newcomer had to undergo basic training (not just library procedures); and if he passed a rigorous test with flying colors (that is, with a grade of one hundred percent), he was commissioned ensign in a formal ceremony. In due time he was rewarded for good work by promotion. The ship's larder was always well-provisioned (with cookies and tea); and afternoon tea for captain, crew, and any friend or associate who might be aboard was a daily ritual. The captain's phraseology may have seemed odd to the uninitiated and his methods of training and inspiring his staff may have been unconventional, but they were effective. Harmony and order prevailed. Captain Simkins ran a tight ship.

An engaging host, he welcomed hundreds of visitors to the Rare Book Room annually. He enchanted and was enchanted by the groups of school children who were marshaled in periodically. (He especially loved the fourth-graders.) As he introduced them to the history of books, he undoubtedly awakened their sense of wonder and stimulated their intellectual curiosity.

During the years that he was Curator of Rare Books, he was also editor-in-chief of *Library Notes*. His work as an editor was exact, thorough, and marked by nice distinctions.

Gliding—in a sense, an extension of his maritime interests—was one of his favorite diversions. He was a member of the Tarheel Soaring Club, Inc., almost from its beginning in 1959; he attended the meetings regularly, served as secretary and treasurer for years, and occasionally went for rides. These voyages were, to him, “celestial navigation.”

Thomas Simkins resigned from the Duke Library staff in 1962. Beset by chronic illness, in 1968 he entered Knollwood Manor, where he spent the rest of his life. He became interested in the nearby New Hope Baptist Church to the extent that in 1973 he presented it with a cross and composed an anthem for the day of its dedication. This hymn was his final creative effort. Soon after that, his health began to deteriorate noticeably.

On Good Friday, 24 March 1978, he died as he had lived—quietly and courageously.

Esther J. Evans

The Friends of Duke University Library

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December 1979

Number 49

LIBRARY NOTES

DUKE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY • DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

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LIBRARY NOTES

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Contributors

Frank Baker is Professor of English Church History in the Divinity School and donor of the collection of circuit plans.

Benjamin E. Powell is Professor Emeritus, Faculty in the Arts and Sciences and former University Librarian.

Haun Saussy is a Junior in Trinity college.

Erma Whittington is Librarian for the Jay B. Hubbell Center for American Literary Historiography in William R. Perkins Library.

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Gertrude Merritt—An Appreciation

Remarks by Benjamin E. Powell, Librarian
Emeritus, at the annual Friends Dinner,
15 March 1979.

No university library becomes a great research library without the assistance of staff members who spend their lives studying the library's holdings, its book needs for university programs and faculty research, and where to find those needed books. Such staff members—hopefully, there will be more than one—must have, in addition to knowledge about book holdings and needs, rapport with the faculty and staff that encourages wide participation in collection building on a regular basis.

A director can fill his staff with the brightest and most highly trained library school graduates, but without assistants who have had long association with the library, know its history, and the path of its development, and are deeply interested in its future, his library will suffer.

Duke has been fortunate to have had on its staff for almost half a century, in key positions for almost 40 years, one who belongs in the above classification. I am speaking of Gertrude Merritt, presently Associate University Librarian for Collection Development, who will retire in August. An alumna of Duke, Class of 1931, she was obliged to earn most of her college expenses, and that is how she became a librarian:

As a student assistant in the Library, Miss Merritt demonstrated attributes that led to her appointment to the full-time staff upon graduation. She also worked at the desk in Southgate, checking undergraduate women out and back in on date nights. At this vantage point she probably learned more about campus romances than anyone else in the University. She knew enough, from watching those relationships develop, to predict crises in them long before they were publicly announced by the shifting of fraternity jewelry.

When it was clear that her outside work and a full schedule of courses were leaving her with energy to spare, Gertrude became active in student organizations. Those that attracted her interest were the Taurian Players, the campus dramatic group; the Y.W.C.A., on whose cabinet she served in her senior year; and the Women's Student Government, of which she was president her last year. She was also a member of the German and Polity Clubs; and naturally was elected in her senior year to White Duchy, the honorary leadership organization for women.

Miss Merritt began her library career in 1931 as a clerk in the Order Department and worked in almost every position in that unit as she moved upward to the headship of Serials, Chief of Technical Processes, Assistant Librarian for Technical Services, and, just a few years ago, to her present position as Associate University Librarian for Collection Development.

All along the way she made recommendations for improving procedures. The Library lacked funds for much experimentation with new technology, but she encouraged us to stay close enough to the innovators to utilize their findings that had application for us. Thus very early we began to produce our own catalog cards, (2) reorganized the invoice handling procedures; (3) computerized the accounts payable system; (4) put periodicals and serials on computer tape, and (5) computerized order procedures, each step improving the efficiency and utility of the Library.

But Miss Merritt never became so engrossed in the internal

operations of the Library that she forgot its primary function—to serve faculty and students. Toward that end she was in constant touch with the professors, bringing desirable titles and collections to their attention and reporting back to them on searches she was making for them. Her favorite nighttime reading has always been out-of-print catalogs, which she studies with the Library's needs in mind. On Saturdays, Sundays and holidays one still can find her in the Library examining and appraising gift collections and selecting the useful titles to be processed.

Gertrude joined the staff about the time that Dr. William K. Boyd, distinguished historian, then director of the Library, was organizing the Library Associates which later became The Friends of the Library. Thus, she has been associated with the Friends from the organization's beginning, examining gifts, encouraging donations, updating the list of members, and keeping the Secretary informed.

No one knows more than she about the Duke University Library, its strengths and weaknesses, current needs and about those persons who have contributed most to its development.

Dr. Boyd once said to me that a great librarian never forgets a book, and should be able to recall the physical characteristics of every important one he ever read or handled. Dr. Boyd, who was a great scholar but had little patience with the minutiae of library processing and business office strictures, was responsible for Miss Merritt's appointment. Had he lived and had he worked with her through the years until now, I am sure he would say, "She is the type of librarian I was talking about."

It is fitting that she be made a Life Member of The Friends, and I am pleased to have been given the honor of presenting her with the certificate of that membership.

Benjamin E. Powell

PRIMITIVE-METHODIST PREACHERS' PLAN; 1858.

SELBY BRANCH OF SWINEFLEET CIRCUIT.

"The Lord will work for us: for there is no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few."—1. Sam. 14. 6.

SABBATH-DAY PLAN.												
PLACES.	Time.	JAN.	FEBRUARY.	MARCH.	APRIL.							
1 Selby	10 1/2	24 31 7	14 21 28	7 14 21 28	4 11 18							
2 Cliff	2	1 8 15 22	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24							
3 Hemmingthorpe	2	1 8 15 22	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24							
4 North Duffield	2	1 8 15 22	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24							
5 Hemmingthorpe	2	1 8 15 22	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24							
6 Askeby	2	1 8 15 22	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24							
7 Barnby	2	1 8 15 22	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24							
8 Newland	2	1 8 15 22	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24							
9 Dux	2	1 8 15 22	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24							
10 Camboisforth	2	1 8 15 22	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24							
11 Shipthorpe	2	1 8 15 22	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24							

WEEK-NIGHT PLAN.												
PLACES AND FIGURES.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Selby	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Camboisforth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Dux	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Newland	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Barnby	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Hemmingthorpe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Askeby	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
North Duffield	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Shipthorpe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

SPECIAL RELIGIOUS SERVICES.												
PLACES.	DATE.	TIME.	BY.	BY.	BY.	BY.	BY.	BY.	BY.	BY.	BY.	BY.
Selby	Jan. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.	7.30.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.
Camboisforth	Jan. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.	7.30.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.
Dux	Jan. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.	7.30.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.
Newland	Jan. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.	7.30.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.
Barnby	Jan. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.	7.30.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.
Hemmingthorpe	Jan. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.	7.30.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.
Askeby	Jan. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.	7.30.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.
North Duffield	Jan. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.	7.30.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.
Shipthorpe	Jan. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.	7.30.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.	W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.

H Y M N.

Come ye Preachers, Leaders, Members,
All unite with heart and hand;
Let us live and work for Jesus,
Till we reach the promised land.

Preachers preach a present Saviour,
Preach Salvation full and free;
All mankind may share the blessing,
New and an eternity.

Leaders, Members, work abundant,
Give advice, and live it too;
Never from the means be absent,
There's important work to do.

Come thou, Brethren, come thou, Sisters,
Serve and live in unity;
We shall soon increase in number,
And a better day shall see.

WILLIAM SWAIN, PRINTER, DOUGLASS, 210 PAPERHANGER, MARKET-PLACE, RUDDERS

Primitive Methodist Plan for Selby, 1858 showing the elaborations of later plans.
Original: 12½ x 12½.

The Circuit Plan

Frank Baker

Students of Methodist history well know that John Wesley founded Methodist societies throughout the British Isles and sponsored their formation in many other parts of the world. During his own tireless itinerary he was able to preach to most of those within the British Isles at least once in two years, and to some much more frequently. Their regular weekly services, however, were for the most part conducted by laymen separated for this task as "itinerant preachers," aided by others earning their living in various ways who served as "local preachers." As Methodism grew the country was constantly being divided and subdivided into local groupings of societies known as "circuits" or "rounds" because the itinerant preachers traveled around them every four or six weeks, preaching and exercising pastoral oversight for the members of the societies.

During most of Wesley's lifetime only a small proportion of "local preachers" was needed to supplement the preaching of the itinerants, but this practice grew steadily with the proliferation of the societies, until eventually local preachers were conducting two of every three Sunday services in British Methodism—a situation which has changed little to this day. The occasional services conducted in their own general neighbourhood by the local preachers were more difficult to organize than those of the regular itinerancy of the full-time preachers treading in each others' footsteps around the circuit, and so circuit plans were made several weeks in advance to inform each person where he was appointed to preach on a given day, and to alert the society stewards whom they were to expect. At first these preaching-plans were prepared in manuscript, a few of which survive; in a handful of small circuits this still remains the custom. The first known printed circuit plan was for London, covering the months of October 1786 to January 1787. This included the name of John Wesley himself, for usually he spent the winter months in the London area. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries these printed circuit plans spread throughout

most parts of the British Isles, were continued in all the offshoots of Wesley's Methodism, and took root in other countries.

Increasingly it has been recognized that these circuit plans may furnish important evidence in the areas of church history, local history, social history, and genealogy, especially in Great Britain. This realization has been accelerated by the formation in 1955 of the Society of Cirplanologists, which issues regular bulletins. In 1961 the Society published a Register of Methodist Circuit Plans, and since that time four supplements have appeared. This wealth of documentation shows quite clearly that the present collection at Duke is one of the three largest in the world. The only rival in the U.S.A. is that at Drew University, Madison, N.J., which is fortunate enough to possess a valuable cross-section of Wesleyan Methodist plans for one year, 1825. There are over three hundred of them—an indication of their widespread prevalence. (A microfilm copy of the Drew collection is in the Duke Library.)

The majority of the 527 circuit plans in this segment of the Baker Collection appears to be unique, and there are a number of quite unusual items, as well as instructive long runs for some circuits. It is especially strong in plans of the Primitive Methodists, which are much rarer than those of the parent body, the Wesleyan Methodists. The collection is strongest in the first half of the nineteenth century, but a handful of modern plans is included, especially some from overseas countries in which British Methodism has been planted. (It is my intention also to give to Duke at a later date the main modern section of this collection, covering the years 1950-70.)

The format of circuit plans has varied greatly from circuit to circuit and from decade to decade. During their first century they almost always consisted of single sheets, which differed enormously in size and lay-out, in the types of decorative embellishment, in the supplementary features, and occasionally in the basic information given. During the present century they have usually been issued as pamphlets. Occasionally they were printed on flimsy tissue, and even on silk or linen. Usually they were distributed by hand, but many went through the mails, sometimes with personal messages, circuit memoranda, or lengthy holograph letters annexed.

Sometimes the plans were printed horizontally, sometimes vertically. The size of the sheets varied from 8" x 4" to 20" x 15". The normal lay-out presents a column of the names of the Methodist societies on the left which range from two or three to over fifty. The times of the service or services at each society were always added.

Across the top of the sheet was a list of the Sundays covered by the plan, usually for three months, but sometimes for six. In a column on the right was given a list of the preachers, usually numbered, in order of seniority, and with addresses. Horizontal lines separating the societies crossed vertical lines separating the dates to form a series of rectangular “boxes,” into each of which the number of the appointed preachers was inserted—or occasionally his name. Added information took many forms: scripture lections for the Sundays covered; announcements of quarterly fasts or love-feasts; statistics of membership, or the names and addresses of local officers; plans for prayer meetings, Sunday School activities, weeknight services, or special events; hymns, anecdotes, or improving messages—even a rota for cleaning the chapel.

The preparation of the Circuit Plan was and is the responsibility of the Superintendent Minister (the “Assistant” in Wesley’s day, later the one named first among the Itinerant Preachers). For the last two or three generations he has usually sought the assistance of his colleagues, and the present writer remembers vividly his own twenty-five years’ experience of this task under varying circumstances, which frequently necessitated three or four days’ joint labours four times a year. It is at least some consolation to reflect that these labours were not only of administrative value at the time—indeed the Methodist system in Britain could hardly function without them—but is increasingly having its potential recognized as an instrument of historical research.

Register of Methodist Circuit Plans

(P) = Primitive Methodist, otherwise Wesleyan assumed.

CIRCUIT	DATE	
ALFORD	1873	July-Oct.
	1949-50	Oct.-Jan.
ALFORD, BOSTON, GRIMSBY (Reform)	1852-3	Nov.-Feb.
ALSTON (P)	1845	Aug.-Oct.
ALSTON	1883	Feb.-Apr.
	1883	Aug.-Oct.
APPLEBY	1850	May-July

APPLBEY and KIRKBY STEPHEN	1873-4	Nov.-Feb.
BACUP	1876	Aug.-Oct.
BARDNEY	1911	July-Oct.
BARNARD CASTLE	1839	Apr.-Oct.
(Prayer Leaders)	1840	May-Oct.
	1845	July-Dec.
BARNSLEY (P)	1841	Jan.-Apr.
BARNSLEY	1844	Jan.-Apr.
	1844	Apr.-July
	1849-50	Oct.-Jan.
BARNSLEY (Reform)	1933	Aug.-Oct.
BARNSLEY, WESTGATE, etc.	1934	Apr.-July
BIRMINGHAM CENTRAL	1894	July-Sept.
MISSION		
BOLTON (I.F.) (Prayer Meetings and their sections)	1828-9	Nov.-Apr.
BOLTON (2.F.)	1828-9	Nov.-Apr.
BOLTON (1.S.)	1820-1	Dec.-May
BOLTON (2.S.)	1820-1	Dec.-May
BOLTON (1.F. + 2.F.)	1829-30	Sept.-Feb.
BOLTON (2.S.)	1832	Apr.-July
BOLTON (1.F. + 2.F.)	1833	Apr.-July
BOLTON (2.S.)	1834-5	Oct.-Jan.
BOLTON (1.S.)	1835	May-Aug.
BOLTON (II.F.)	1837	Apr.-June
BOLTON (I.F. + II.F.)	1838	Apr.-July
BOLTON	1839-40	Dec.-Mar.
	1843-4	Oct.-Jan.
	1844	Feb.-May
	1844-5	Dec.-Mar.
	1846	Jan.-Apr.
BOLTON (Regular Services)	1843	July-Oct.
	1844	May-Oct.
	1845	May-Oct.
	1846	May-Oct.
	1847-8	Oct.-Apr.
	1850	July-Oct.
	1851	Mar.-June
	1851-2	Nov.-Feb.
	1853	Mar.-June
	1855	Feb.-Apr.

	1856	Feb.-Apr.
	1856-7	Nov.-Jan.
BOLTON NORTH	1861	July-Oct.
	1862	July-Oct.
	1863	Aug.-Oct.
	1865	May-Sept.
BOLTON SOUTH	1862	Feb.-May
BOLTON, BRIDGE STREET	1870-1	Nov.-Jan.
	1871	May-July
	1873-4	Nov.-Jan.
	1874-5	Nov.-Jan.
	1875	Aug.-Oct.
	1876	Feb.-Apr.
	1877	May-July
	1879	May-July
	1880	Feb.-Apr.
	1881	Jan.-Apr.
	1882	July-Oct.
	1883	Jan.-Apr.
BOLTON, PARK STREET	1879-80	Nov.-Jan.
BOSTON	1820-1	Nov.-Jan.
	1863	Jan.-Apr.
	1881	July-Oct.
	1895	May-July
BOSTON (United Methodist Free Churches)	1883	Jan.-Apr.
BRADFORD (P)	1841	Jan.-Mar.
BRADFORD, KIRKGATE	1883-4	Nov.-Feb.
BRAMLEY	1865	Oct.-Dec.
BRIDLINGTON (P)	1866	July-Oct.
BRIGG and ALKBRO' (P)	1839	July-Oct.
	1840	Jan.-Apr.
	1840	July-Oct.
	1840-1	Oct.-Jan.
	1841	Jan.-Apr.
		(Ms. Notes)
	1841	May-July
		(Ms. Notes)
BRIGHTON	1852	Feb.-Apr.
	1854-5	Oct.-Jan.
BRISTOL	1838	July-Aug.

BROMPTON (P)	1841	Jan.-Apr.
BROUGH and PENRITH	1822	Feb.-Apr.
BURSLEM	1807	Feb.-July
	1807-8	Aug.-Jan.
BURY (P)	1894	July-Oct.
CAISTOR and LACEBY	1894	July-Oct.
	1895	July-Oct.
CAMBORNE	1834	July-Oct.
CAMELFORD (Bible Christian)	1903-4	Nov.-Jan.
CARMARTHEN and LLANELLY	1868	May-Aug.
CASTLE DONINGTON	1884	May-July
CHATTERIS	1854-5	Oct.-Feb.
CHERTSEY and WALTON-ON-	1873	Apr.-July
THAMES	1873-4	Oct.-Jan.
CHESTERFIELD	1818	May-Nov.
CLITHEROE	1878	Aug.-Oct.
COBHAM	1873	Aug.-Oct.
CONGLETON	1837-8	Oct.-Jan.
CONINGSBY	1857	May-Aug.
COTTENHAM	1881-2	Nov.-Feb.
DANBY	1865	May-Oct.
DARLINGTON	1836	May-Oct.
	1837-8	Nov.-May
	1838-9	Dec.-Mar.
	1840	Apr.-Aug.
	1842	Feb.-May
	1844-5	Oct.-Feb.
	1846	Apr.-Aug.
DENBY DALE	1885	Feb.-May
DEPTFORD	1819	May-Oct.
DERBY (Arminian)	1832	July-Oct.
DEVONPORT	1960	Apr.-June
DONCASTER	1831-2	Nov.-Jan.
	1872-3	Oct.-Jan.
DONCASTER (P)	1840-1	Nov.-Jan.
DOWNHAM	1842-3	Dec.-May
DRIFFIELD (P)	1841	Jan.-Apr.
DURHAM	1858	Feb.-May
DURHAM (Methodist New	1859	Jan.-Apr.
Connexion)		
EASINGWOLD	1826-7	Nov.-Apr.

	1842-3	Dec.-Mar.
	1848-9	Oct.-Apr.
	1851	May-Oct.
	1866	May-Oct.
EDINBURGH.	1832	Aug.-Oct.
EPWORTH	1814	Jan.-June
	1827-8	Nov.-Apr.
	1842	May-Oct.
EPWORTH (P)	1835	Nov.-Jan.
FILEY	1961	Jan.-Apr.
FOLKESTONE	1881-2	Nov.-Jan.
GAINSBOROUGH	1950-1	Oct.-Jan.
GATESHEAD	1858	May-July
	1866	Aug.-Oct.
GRANTHAM	1865	May-July
GRIMSBY	1811-2	Nov.-Apr.
	1816	July-Dec.
	1818	June-Dec.
	1818-9	Dec.-June
	1819-20	Dec.-June
	1820-1	Dec.-June
	1821	July-Dec.
	1822	July-Dec.
	1859	Sept.-Dec.
	1860	May-Aug.
	1864	Jan.-Apr.
GRIMSBY, DUNCOMBE ST.	1896	Apr.-July
	1912	Apr.-July
HALIFAX (P)	1829-30	Dec.-Mar.
	1830	Apr.-June
	1841	Jan.-Apr.
HALIFAX, SOUTH PARADE	1880	May-Aug.
HALIFAX, WESLEY	1880	May-July
HASLINGDEN	1839-40	Nov.-Apr.
	1844	May-Oct.
HASTINGS	1841	Apr.-July
HAVERFORDWEST	1832	May-Oct.
HERTFORD and BISHOP'S STORTFORD	1873-4	Nov.-Jan.
HEXHAM	1870	Aug.-Oct.
HOLBEACH	1896	Jan.-Apr.

HOLT	1883-4	Oct.-Jan.
HORNCASTLE (P)	1877	Jan.-Apr.
	1902	Dec.-Mar.
	1906	July-Sept.
	1907	Jan.-Mar.
	1908	Oct.-Dec.
	1911	Jan.-Mar.
	1913	Apr.-June
	1914	Jan.-Mar.
	1924	Oct.-Dec.
	1925	Jan.-Mar.
	1926	Apr.-June
	1926	Oct.-Dec.
	1928	Oct.-Dec.
HORNCASTLE	1903	Apr.-July
	1951	Jan.-Apr.
HOUGHTON-LE-SPRING	1875	Feb.-Apr.
	1875	Aug.-Oct.
	1875-6	Nov.-Jan.
	1876	Feb.-Apr.
	1876	May-June
	1891	Aug.-Oct.
HOWDEN	1873	May-July
HUDDERSFIELD	1829-30	Nov.-Apr.
HUDDERSFIELD (Weeknights)	1831	Sept.-Dec.
HUDDERSFIELD	1832	Mar.-Aug.
	1870?	Aug.-Oct.
	1880?	Feb.-Apr.
	1880	May-July
	1880	Aug.-Oct.
	1884	Aug.-Oct.
HUDDERSFIELD (P)	1830	July-Sept.
	1840-1	Nov.-Jan.
HULL	1808	May-Oct.
HULL (P) (Prayer Meetings)	1828	Feb.-Apr.
HULL (P)	1825	Jan.-Apr.
	1838	Jan.-Apr.
	1840	Aug.-Oct.
	1841	May-July
	1841	Jan.-Apr.
	1886-7	Oct.-Jan.

HULL (P) (District Meeting)	1870	May
HULL, EAST	1858-9	Aug.-Jan.
HULL (P), FOURTH	1881	Jan.-Apr.
	1883	Apr.-July
HULL, NORTH	1938	Jan.-Mar.
HULL, LAMBERT ST.	1937	Apr.-June
HULL (P), SPRING BANK	1876	July-Oct.
HULL, WALTHAM ST.	1954	Oct.-Dec.
ISLE OF WIGHT	1844	Jan.-Apr.
ISLE OF WIGHT (Bible Christian)	1857	May-Aug.
KEIGHLY (P)	1841	Jan.-Apr.
	1849	July-Oct.
	1858	Apr.-July
	1863-4	Oct.-Jan.
	1866	Apr.-July
KEIGHLEY (P), SECOND	1912	Apr.-June
KENTISH MISSIONS (P)	1841-2	Oct.-Jan.
	1842	Jan.-Apr.
	1842	May-July
KEYINGHAM (P)	1840-1	Nov.-Jan.
KILKHAMPTON	1871-2	Nov.-Feb.
	1872	Feb.-May
KILKHAMPTON (United Methodist)	1911	May-July
KIRKBY STEPHEN	1901	Apr.-July
KIRKOSWALD	1883	Aug.-Nov.
	1899	July-Oct.
KNARESBOROUGH	1881	Aug.-Oct.
	1876-7	Nov.-Jan.
KNOWL-WOOD (P)	1840-1	Oct.-Jan.
LANCASTER	1862-3	Nov.-Jan.
LEICESTER (P)	1829	July-Oct.
LEEDS	1777	May-July
		(Ms., facsim.)
	1818-9	Nov.-Apr.
LEEDS (P)	1841	Jan.-Apr.
LEEDS (P), SOUTH	1841	Jan.-Apr.
LEEDS, ARMLEY	1884	Jan.-Apr.
LEEDS, WESLEY	1874	Feb.-Apr.
LINCOLN	1844	Feb.-July
LINCOLN, WESLEY	1884	May-July
	1898-9	Oct.-Jan.

LINCOLN (Methodist Free Churches)	1900-1	Nov.-Jan.
	1904	Feb.-Apr.
LINCOLN (P)	1836	July-Oct.
	1836-7	Oct.-Jan.
	1837	Jan.-Apr.
	1837	Apr.-July
	1837	July-Oct.
LINDLEY (Methodist New Connexion)	1879-80	Nov.-Feb.
LIVERPOOL	1809	July-Oct.
	1809-10	Oct.-Jan.
	1810	Jan.-Apr.
	1810	Apr.-July
	1810	July-Oct.
	1810-1	Oct.-Jan.
	1811	Jan.-Apr.
	1811	Apr.-July
	1811	July-Oct.
LIVERPOOL, NORTH	1832	May-Aug.
	1854	June-Sept.
LIVERPOOL, BRUNSWICK	1864	May-Aug.
LIVERPOOL, SOUTH	1854	June-Sept.
LIVERPOOL, PITT ST.	1864	Apr.-June
	1867	Apr.-June
LIVERPOOL, SOUTH, PITT ST.	1861	Sept.-Dec.
LIVERPOOL, CRANMER	1867	Feb.-Apr.
	1876-7	Oct.-Jan.
	1885	Jan.-Mar.
[LIVERPOOL], WATERLOO	1864	Apr.-June
LIVERPOOL, WESLEY	1864	Apr.-June
	1867	Apr.-June
LIVERPOOL (Conference Plan)	1832	July-Aug.
	1847	July-Aug.
LONDON	1796	June-Sept.
	1803	Oct.-Dec.
LONDON, EAST	1819	Feb.-June
	1819-20	Nov.-Apr.
	1819-20	June-Jan.
	1823	Apr.-Sept.
LONDON, NORTH	1827-8	Oct.-Feb.
LONDON, SECOND	1846	Jan.-Mar.

The Primitive Methodist Preachers' Plan,

FOR THE

SWINEFLEET CIRCUIT,

(January, 1832.)

SABBATH-DAY PLAN.

"With thee be made whole"	January.	February.	March.
<i>Places & Hours.</i>	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26	4 11 18 25
Swinefleet, { 2	3 5 10 14	2 15 4 16 12	11 14 2 5
Swinefleet, { 6	3 3 1 16 2	2 3 16 12	1 2 2 3
Barmby, { 2	27 32 35 38 32	8 5 31 32	11 12 18 28
Saltmarsh, { 10 1	3 4 11 15	2 12 4 5 12	15 10 34 3
Kilpin, { 2	17 11 1	11 19	10 6
Balne, { 10	29 1 32 21	3 18 17 9	26 3
Balne, { 2	29 1 32 21	3 18 17 9	26 3
Carlton, { 6	9 1 30 21 30	3 29 17 22	6 33
Rawcliffe, { 2	32 18 20 16 21	22 14 2 8 28	6 30
Rawcliffe, { 6	32 18 9 2 16	29 31 1 4 2	18 28 5 15
Osgodby, { 10 1	2 13 3 22 1	26 20 13 31	16 1 8 2
Cliffe, { 2	2 30 3 22 1	26 20 13 31	16 1 8 2
Selby, { 2	22 23	22	
Selby, { 6	2 13 3 16 1	25 2 30 28	1 27 2
Garthorpe, { 2	15 1 5	4 30	24 2
Garthorpe, { 6	14 10 19	14 10	2 15 10
Luddington, { 10 1	14 15 1 5	4 3 10 24	2 10
Luddington, { 2	11 3 7 1	2 10	14 2
Whitgift, { 10 1	11 3 7 1	2 10	14 2
Whitgift, { 2	11 3 7 1	2 10	14 2
Redness, { 2	3 1	9 30 15	
Redness, { 6	11 34 4 5	15 30	14 4 7 14
Adlingfleet, { 6	5 14 19 10	7 34 24 10	19 15 24 4
Skelton, { 2	4 15	12 50	15 34
Snaith, { 2	33 20	32 8	20 21
Hambleton, { 2	20 28 13	32 25	16 26
Yorkfleet, { 2	12 5 11	17 24	1 5 15
Gnoile, { 2	34 4	5 100	9 32

PREACHERS' NAMES.

"We Preach Christ."

1 Houscroft
2 Procter
3 Middlebrook
4 Gifford
5 Turner
6 Shuckliffe
7 Naylor
8 Parry
9 Shuckliffe, Jun.
10 Taylor
11 Archer
12 Rogers
13 Ays
14 Hordley
15 Dym
16 Martin, Mrs.
17 Bennett
18 Bennett
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WEEK-DAY PLAN.

"Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ"	January.	February.	March.
<i>Places & Hours.</i>	2 9 16 23 30	6 13 20 27	5 12 19 26
Balne, M.	1 2 3	17 2	2
Snaith, T.	1 2 3	17 2	2
Carlton, W.	1 2 3	17 2	2
Rawcliffe, Th.	1 2 3	17 2	2
Swinefleet, M.	3 1 2 3	3 17 2	2
Ousefleet, T.	3 1 2 3	3 17 2	2
Garthorpe, W.	3 1 2 3	3 17 2	2
Luddington, Th.	3 1 2 3	3 17 2	2
Adlingfleet, F.	3 1 2 3	3 17 2	2
Swinefleet, M.	3 1 2 3	3 17 2	2
Redness, T.	3 1 2 3	3 17 2	2
Saltmarsh, W.	3 1 2 3	3 17 2	2
Yorkfleet, Th.	3 1 2 3	3 17 2	2
Skelton, Fr.	3 1 2 3	3 17 2	2
Cliffe, M.	3 1 2 3	3 17 2	2
Barmby, T.	3 1 2 3	3 17 2	2
Kilpin, W.	3 1 2 3	3 17 2	2
Goole, Th.	3 1 2 3	3 17 2	2

Quarter Day at Swinefleet, on Monday 5th March, at 9 o'Clock in the Morning.

Those Preachers who neglect their appointments must state a satisfactory cause at the quarterly meeting, or sink one figure on the plan for every omission.

Edward Shonkier, of Ousefleet, Circuit-Steward, to whom all Letters on Circuit business must be addressed, post-paid.

Circuit Committee.—R. Middlebrook, J. Little, G. Gilleard, S. Burrows, J. Pass, and T. Taylor.

Let every Preacher, both local and itinerant, give out the renewing of the Tickets and Collections, prior to their being made.

PRINTED BY

W. R. GALT, OF

SWINEFLEET.

Primitive Methodist Plan for Swinefleet, 1832.

Original: 8½ x 10.

	1848	Jan.-Mar.
LONDON, FIFTH	1838	May-July
LONDON, FOURTH and FIFTH, etc.	1852	Apr.-June
LONDON, ISLINGTON	1864	
LONDON (P) "LONDON BRANCH OF HULL CIRCUIT"	1838-9	Dec.-Apr.
"LONDON MISSION OF HULL CIRCUIT"	1841	Aug.-Oct.
LONDON (P), THIRD	1862	Apr.-July
LONDON (Conference Plan)	1850	July-Aug.
LONDON, HIGHGATE	1955	Apr.-June
LOUTH (P)	1837-8	Oct.-Jan.
	1838	Apr.-July
	1838	July-Oct.
MAIDENHEAD (P)	1913	Oct.-Dec.
MALTON (P)	1833	June-Sept.
	1834	Jan.-Mar.
	1841	Jan.-Apr.
MANCHESTER	1799	July-Oct.
	1799-	Oct.-Feb.
	1800	
	1802	Feb.-June
	1808	Aug.-Oct.
MANCHESTER (Ms. yearly plan of Jabez Bunting)	1802	June-Nov.
MANCHESTER	1805-6	
	1806-7	Sept.-Mar.
	1807	Mar.-July
	1807	July-Oct.
	1809	Feb.-Apr.
	1810	Aug.-Oct.
	1818	Jan.-Mar.
	1818	Apr.-June
	1833	July-Aug.
	1841	July-Aug.
	1849	July-Aug.
MANCHESTER, SOUTH	1824-5	Oct.-Jan.
	1825	Jan.-Apr.
	1825-6	Nov.-Feb.
	1826	Mar.-May
	1826	June-Aug.

	1826-7	Sept.-Jan.
	1827-8	Dec.-Apr.
MANCHESTER, NORTH	1826	Apr.-Sept.
(Weeknights)	1826-7	Sept.-Jan.
MANCHESTER	1833	July-Aug.
(Conference Plan)	1841	July-Aug.
	1849	July-Aug.
MANCHESTER, FIRST	1833-4	Oct.-Jan.
	1859	Mar.-June
MANCHESTER, SECOND	1860	July-Sept.
MANCHESTER, THIRD	1828	July-Oct.
	1829	Feb.-May
	1845	Mar.-June
	1846	July-Sept.
	1858-9	Sept.-Jan.
MANCHESTER, FOURTH	1859	Aug.-Oct.
MANCHESTER, FIFTH	1859	Apr.-June
MANCHESTER, SIXTH	1860	Oct.-Dec.
	1864	Feb.-Apr.
MANCHESTER, OXFORD RD.	1864	Jan.-Mar.
MANCHESTER, RADNOR ST.	1883	Oct.-Dec.
MANCHESTER (P)	1846-7	Oct.-Jan.
MANCHESTER DISTRICTS	1798	Jan.-Apr.
(Prayer Meetings)	1798-9	Sept.-Jan.
MANCHESTER, LONDON RD.	1831-2	
(Sunday School)		
MANSFIELD	1854	July-Nov.
	1858	Mar.-June
	1859	Feb.-May
	1860	Feb.-Apr.
	1860	May-July
	1860	Aug.-Oct.
	1860-1	Nov.-Jan.
	1861	Feb.-Apr.
	1861	May-July
	1863	May-July
	1863-4	Nov.-Jan.
	1864	Aug.-Oct.
	1864-5	Nov.-Jan.
	1865	Feb.-Apr.
	1865	May-July

	1865	Aug.-Oct.
	1865-6	Nov.-Jan.
	1866	Aug.-Oct.
	1868-9	Nov.-Jan.
	1869-70	Nov.-Jan.
	1870	Feb.-Apr.
	1870	May-July
	1870	Aug.-Oct.
	1870-1	Nov.-Jan.
	1871	Feb.-Apr.
	1871	May-July
	1871	Aug.-Oct.
	1873	Feb.-Apr.
	1873	May-July
	1874	May-July
	1877	May-July
MANSFIELD (P)	1848-9	Oct.-Jan.
MIDDLEHAM and TANFIELD (P)	1815	May-Oct.
MIDDLEHAM (P)	1841	Jan.-Apr.
	1844	Aug.-Oct.
	1849-50	Nov.-Jan.
NELSON	1896	Aug.-Oct.
NEWSCASTLE	1802	Apr.-June
	1816	Aug.-Oct.
NORTH HILL	1959	July-Oct.
NORTH SHIELDS	1843	May-Oct.
NORWICH	1810-1	Nov.-Apr.
NORWICH (United Methodist Free Church)	1899	Feb.-Apr.
NORWICH (United Methodist)	1908-9	Nov.-Jan.
	1909	May-July
	1910	Aug.-Oct.
	1911	Jan.-Apr.
	1911	Apr.-July
	1911-2	Nov.-Jan.
NOTTINGHAM, WESLEY	1883	Jan.-Apr.
	1883	Apr.-July
	1883	July-Oct.
	1883-4	Oct.-Jan.
	1884	Jan.-Apr.
	1884.	July-Oct.

NOTTINGHAM, HALIFAX PLACE	1884	Feb.-Apr.
OLDHAM SECOND (P)	1872	Jan.-Apr.
	1872-3	Oct.-Jan.
	1875-6	Oct.-Jan.
OTLEY (P)	1841	Jan.-Apr.
PATELY BRIDGE (P)	1841	Jan.-Apr.
PATRINGTON (P)	1870	Jan.-Apr.
PENRITH	1836	May-Oct.
PENZANCE	1835	Jan.-Apr.
	1837	Jan.-Apr.
PLYMOUTH, KING ST.	1872	Apr.-June
POCKLINGTON (P)	1841	Jan.-Apr.
POCKLINGTON	1961	Apr.-July
PONTEFRACT (P)	1832	Sept.-Dec.
	1841	Jan.-Apr.
PRESTON	1822-3	Nov.-Feb.
	1827-8	Nov.-Jan.
	1828	Aug.-Oct.
	1831	Aug.-Oct.
	1834	May-July
	1843	Apr.-July
PRESTON and CHORLEY	1857	Feb.-Apr.
PRESTON, LUNE ST.	1877	Apr.-July
PRESTON (P)	1845	Feb.-Apr.
REETH	1869	Feb.-Apr.
RIPON (P)	1840-1	Oct.-Jan.
ST. AUSTELL	1959	Aug.-Oct.
ST. HELEN'S (P)	1875	Oct.-Dec.
SALFORD-MANCHESTER	1818	Aug.-Oct.
	1826	Sept.-Nov.
	1826-7	Dec.-Feb.
SCARBOROUGH (P)	1841	Jan.-Apr.
SETTLE	1915-6	Nov.-Jan.
	1923	Jan.-Apr.
	1925	Apr.-July
SHEBBEAR (Bible Christian)	1873	Aug.-Oct.
SHEERNESS	1866	June-Sept.
SHEFFIELD, CARVER ST.	1883	July-Sept.
	1891	July-Sept.
	1891	Oct.-Dec.
	1892	July-Sept.

SHEFFIELD (P)	1819-20	Dec.-Feb.
	1840-1	Nov.-Jan.
SHOTLEY BRIDGE	1879	May-July
SHREWSBURY	1826-7	Oct.-Apr.
	1830	May-Oct.
SILSDEN (P)	[1841]	Jan.-Apr.
	1849	Apr.-July
	1849	July-Oct.
SKIPTON	1930	Jan.-Mar.
SNAITH	1825-6	Oct.-Apr.
	1818-9	Nov.-Apr.
	1864-5	Nov.-Jan.
SNAITH (Prayer Leaders)	1864-5	Nov.-Jan.
SNAITH	1867-8	Nov.-Feb.
SPALDING	1895	May-July
	1901	Jan.-Mar.
SPILSBY	1830	May-Nov.
	1865-6	Nov.-Feb.
	1881	Mar.-June
	1881-2	Nov.-Feb.
	1895	Mar.-June
	1898	Oct.-Feb.
STAMFORD	1837	July-Oct.
STIRLING and DOWN	1859	Aug.-Dec.
STOCKPORT	[1835]	July-Oct.
STOCKTON	1803-4	Nov.-Apr.
STOCKTON (P)	1838-9	Oct.-Jan.
STOKESLEY	1839-40	Nov.-Apr.
STOURBRIDGE	1828	Aug.-Dec.
STATTON and BUDE (United Methodist)	1912	Oct.-Dec.
SWINEFLEET (P)	1832	Jan.-Mar.
	1832	Apr.-June
	1832	July-Sept.
	1832	Sept.-Dec.
	1841	Jan.-Apr.
TADCASTER (P)	1830-1	Oct.-Jan.
	1831	Apr.-July
	1831	July-Oct.
TADCASTER	1841	Jan.-Apr.
TUNSTALL (P)	1812	Mar.-June

Manchester Circuit. 1799.

PREACHERS' PLAN.	JULY				AUGUST				SEPTEMBER				OCTOBER				PREACHERS' NAMES.	No.
	7	14	21	28	4	11	18	25	1	8	15	22	29	6	13			
Oldham-freet 7, Salford 21 & 6.	1	8	15	22	1	8	15	22	1	8	15	22	1	8	15	John Barber	1	
Salford 10, Oldham-freet 5 1/2	2	9	16	23	2	9	16	23	2	9	16	23	2	9	16	John Farrar	2	
Altringham 10, 2 & 3 1/2	12	19	26	3	10	17	24	31	7	14	21	28	4	11	18	Thomas Preston	3	
Barton P, Davyhulme 1 & 5.	3	10	17	24	10	17	24	31	13	20	27	3	10	17	24	John Holt	4	
Barton 1 & 5	5	12	19	26	4	11	18	25	9	16	23	30	6	13	20	Robert Brierley	5	
Carrieth 9, Irlam 1	13	20	27	3	11	18	25	1	18	25	1	8	15	22	29	Robert Oughton	6	
Sodam 10, North-str. 6, & Monday 8	*13	*20	*27	*3	*10	*17	*24	*31	*7	*14	*21	*28	*4	*11	*18	John Smith	7	
Stanley-freet 10, Wortley 3.	9	17	21	8	5	11	16	23	18	20	12	14	23	6	28	Thomas Painter	8	
Partington 10 & 2	25	11	28	8	17	3	27	8	15	24	10	18	17	10	14	John Gadd	9	
Blackley 4	4	7	20	22	21	15	25	31	9	11	15	12	4	5		Stephen Ruffell	10	
Longlight 5 1/2	20	4	13	22	18	25	9	7	19	8	24	21	15	23	12	John Birkinhead	11	
Pendleton 6	8	6	7	27	31	28	12	4	15	23	15	22	18	11	16	William James	12	
Croft-lane 6	22	23	9	15	14	27	6	19	28	7	16	4	6	5	20	Thomas Owen	13	
North-freet 10, Miles-platt 6	15	5	19	11	8	6	19	15	12	14	9	20	18	15	16	Hugh Emmet	14	
St. Mary's-gate 5 1/2	16	10	14	7	9	8	31	20	3	13	8	11	24	21	15	Holland Hoole	15	
* Baguley-fold 5, Bradford 5	11	*9	16	*14	6	*20	25	*21	*22	*19	26	*13	31	*8	24	James Dewhurst	16	
* Hoole Hill 6, Rusholme 5 1/2	*6	12	*5	4	*24	16	*7	11	*8	*21	*22	*31	*13	*25	*19	William Walton	17	
Sale 10 & 2		18		24	7		9		5		10		14			Thomas Patrick	18	
Rhodes 6	18	21	10	25	7	12	4	22	14	6	5	26	30	31	27	George Burton	19	
Droylfelden 5 1/2	14	20	31	13	10	15	3	18	7	11	21	24	22	10	23	John Hughes	20	
Oldham 2 & 6							8									Robert Shepley	21	
Delph 10 & 1, Motley 4 1/2		19		9						12				13		John Bamber	22	
Middleton 1 & 5 1/2		6				8				14				21		James Wood	23	
Aradwick 5 1/2	7	14	22	21	25	24	11	16	20	26	4	5	6	18	9	Solomon Ashton	24	
Newtown..... Monday after date 8	20	5	26	9	19	14	25	15	21	11	12	15	16	5	20	George Leigh	25	
Hulme..... Ditto..... 7 1/2	19	10	11	26	15	15	5	14	25	9	12	10	23	10	30	7	Jonathan Horn	26
Clower's-freet, Salford Ditto 8	5	9	12	14	16	23	19	11	26	15	23	7	15	10	21	Richard Hulme	27	
Strand-freet, Fleet-freet..... Ditto 8	11	19	16	26	21	25	9	12	5	14	15	13	11	19	26	Lee Speakman	28	
Lang Mill-gate, No. 11..... Ditto 8	16	15	5	20	26	13	12	7	11	10	21	14	25	26	5	John Heywood	29	
Bank-top..... Tuesday after date 7	21	3	13	1	12	2	16	3	26	1	23	2	5	3	11	James Bunting	30	
Jackman's-row..... Thursday Ditto 8	1	3	2	12	5	26	1	16	2	11	5	10	1	15	2	Robert Croft	31	
Bloom-freet, Salford, Ditto Ditto 8	12	14		15		26	25				9		21		23			
Brierley-freet, Bank-top..... Ditto 8	5	12	15	16	20	7	15	26	9	25	11	3	10	26	14			

The Brearer hereof, *John Heywood* is an approved Local Preacher here, and may be employed as such wherever he comes.

Bowler & Russell, Printers.

J. D. Barber

The earliest known Circuit Plan for Manchester, 1799.
Original: 10 x 13.

	1812	Mar.-June (Variant)
	1813	Nov.-Jan.
ULVERSTON	1877	Jan.-Apr.
UTTOXETER	1874	May-July
WAINFLEET	1882	July-Oct.
	[1888]	Feb.-Apr.
	1896	Apr.-July
WAKEFIELD (P)	1837	Jan.-Apr.
WAKEFIELD	1841	Jan.-Apr.
	1881-2	Oct.-Jan.
WELLINGTON	1818	May-Oct.
WHALLEY (Chapel-Cleaning Plan)	1876-7	
WHITBY	1850-1	Nov.-Apr.
WHITBY (P)	1841	Jan.-Apr.
	1843	Apr.-July
	1843	July-Oct.
	1843-4	Oct.-Jan.
	1844	Apr.-July
WINSTER (P)	1843	Apr.-July
WOLSINGHAM	1875-6	Nov.-Jan.
WOLVERHAMPTON	1883-4	Oct.-Jan.
WREXHAM	1866	Sept.-Nov.
	1866-7	Dec.-Feb.
	1867	Sept.-Nov.
WREXHAM (Welsh Methodist)	1939	May-July
YARMOUTH	1881-2	Nov.-Jan.
YORK	1853	May-Oct.
YORK (Prayer Leaders)	1865	Apr.-Oct.
YORK (P)	1841	Jan.-Apr.

OVERSEAS CIRCUITS

AUSTRALIA

New South Wales

Canterbury	1954	May-July
Gordon	1954	Aug.-Oct.
Port Macquarie	1954	Sept.-Oct.
Mosman	1954	Aug.-Oct.

Victoria & Tasmania		
Leongatha	1946	Aug.-Oct.
BARBADOS, FIRST	1857-8	Dec.-May
INDIA		
Bangalore	1882	Apr.-June
JAMAICA District (4 circuits)	1958	July-Sept.
	1958	Oct.-Dec.
NEW ZEALAND		
Malvern	1894	Feb.-Apr.
NIGERIA		
Oyubia	1958	July-Sept.
SIERRA LEONE		
Freetown	1851	Apr.-July
	1868	Aug.-Oct.
SOUTH AFRICA		
Johannesburg	1896	July-Sept.

Spatial Thinking

Haun Saussy*

Some of the conventions of language are more arbitrary than others, and a few assert blinding contradictions. Words are bound first by their own laws and then by the laws that limit our perception from representing the actual world as it could be without language; so that any linguistic study, seen from high enough, begins to look like an ironic endeavor. What we do with time in words is particularly illuminating. Most perversely of all, our languages translate temporal events solely into spatial terms, that is, they depict time only with images of quantitative change via hidden metaphor. Some of the confusions which this arrangement ordains will have a wider irony for our study.

Time is unspatial; unspatial in its pure, "isolated" form, even though we can only perceive it by means of its effects in the spatial world (water dripping from a faucet, spring coming to the trees) when it meshes with objects to effect a change. We can recognize just how uneasy the relation between time and objects is by trying to imagine time in its pure state. The idea can only go so far. At the palest, least representative edge of our thinking there is still an image of motion, perhaps moving lines or a white rocket ship passing through a white sky, and that too is physical. Nobody seems to succeed in thinking of time without metaphorical codes. In trying to represent it to ourselves we are all mystics.

Language commits the same philosophically inconceivable, but in practice obligatory, error of metaphor. What words in English do we have to represent time relative to a line? One goes back, thinks ahead. Time appears to be a road set down in a monotonous plane, and we are represented as moving along it, forward into the future and with the past behind us. This analogy is the one chosen by most languages. Frequently the metaphor is insisted upon, with tautological emphasis, in clichés: the pathway of life, where such an event will lead, and so forth, make obvious the metaphorical

* The author, a junior in Trinity College, is the 1979 winner of the Lionel Stevenson Essay Contest.

assumption. In other cases we seem to stand passively in the middle of the road while time rides directly at us: so we hear of things to come, the passing of an age. And thanks to our anatomy which has pointed our eyes in the direction towards which we walk, so that the future might be less surprising, language often forces us to struggle along backwards to an unknown result, aiming our backsides toward "posterity" and fixing our eyes firmly on what has happened before. Our most common words for time relative to a point, "before" and "after," express spatiality in sailors' terms (fore and aft) which were originally not so specialized. We may put in the same category with these pathway images a set of terms culled from reading and writing: in Chinese, for example, one may speak of an action performed just to the left of another, as if words and deeds were spelled out on the same ruled page.

In Greek the customary axis for time relative to a line (especially for adverbs and verb suffixes) has to be rotated ninety degrees: we find time going up and down, with the things done above preceding those done below, and a repeated action performed, not back, but up. This concept is associated with a number of physical realities, whose center is the fact of gravity: so we find time visualized as a spring flowing downhill, a falling object, drops from a water clock. More conscious of many half-conscious metaphors than we, the Greeks often bring these out into the open with a simplified image: "The springs of the holy rivers run uphill" (*Medea* 410) to express a new beginning and rearrangement in the order of things; or the standard Pre-Socratic simile of change through time as river, spring, or flow. Some of our living languages inherit this terminology, but only in rare phrases: high antiquity, a cooking pot "de haute époque." Again our process of reading books refers us to works cited above or proofs demonstrated below.

The relation of words expressing a spatial or a temporal point makes a special problem. In some languages "where" and "when" are independent and unrelated, and in some they can be interchanged: for example, the Latin use of "ubi" to express time when, and the French "au moment où." In English we can make this ambivalence only by providing a transitional metaphor: "at the point where everything seemed lost"—which is still awkward. In a more natural idiom, roughly contemporaneous events pile up "about" or "around" a certain moment. Otherwise, the use of *where* for *when* is inconceivable, in English as in Greek, Hindi or Italian. There seems to be no consistent reason behind these differing developments. In

the case of French and Italian it is nothing more profound than descent from different roots.

Grammatical usage also reinforces the idea of time as a landscape. In English an action in the near future can be phrased: "I'm going to do this." In French the linear emphasis is even stronger: recent past takes the form "je viens de." (At the extreme limit of representation one might claim that the Greek -sigma- and Latin -b-, inserted between the verb stem and personal ending as a sign of the future tense, represent a nearly physical "distancing" of the action from its performer.)

Of course time does not go forwards or backwards, up or down or any of that. Since the overwhelming tendency of language is to force spatial words to serve in place of time words, as linguists and skeptics we can ask for a good explanation. Essentially we are dealing with a contradiction in terms: space and time themselves have nothing to do with each other, we are only lucky enough to live at their intersection. In making space represent time, language goes after a frankly impossible resolution: wholly different worlds may be affirmed analogous, but not identical. This remark brings us to recall the basic untenability of metaphor and also—since the idea of analogy has taken on so many developments in recent times and is capable of strong conclusions—of language itself. Words don't translate anything (omitting the famous and tiresome example of onomatopoeia); neither do, as it appears, the terms which words themselves try to translate. Is there a good excuse for this futility?

Plainly enough, there is: that it is unavoidable. Moving around as we do in two continua (spatial and temporal) at once, it is natural that we should be unable to conceive of either element separately. Time doesn't come to mind without physical representation; nor do objects exist for perception without some temporal quality (either because nothing really stands still, according to molecular physics, or because no present thing exists without a history and a future, or because we can only look at one landscape at a time). We are spatial in imagining time, and (with less linguistic evidence, since nouns represent objects more directly than verbs can represent time, because in the latter the idea of abstract time must be expressed through a peripheral action) temporal in perceiving objects. What inherent assumptions this weakness of imagination plants in us only a harsh and untiring research can discover. For the present essay we can note a handful of the error's side effects:

Even with the visual image our perception proceeds temporally.

For example, in our literate society the habitual motion of the eye begins at the left and moves to the right; so that paintings, page layouts, movie stills, cartoons, in general all the visual products of our culture, are directed to move from left to right. Could the puny man in the before-and-after ad ever switch places with the muscular man on the right? It would strain our conceptions of past and future, as if there had been some mistake. A door opens and a stranger, whose appearance will condition the future development of the story, enters: virtually all directors and cartoonists will put the door over at the right, and the room occupied by known characters (who represent the state of affairs as already determined) will extend to the left. Even much ancient art—Greek pots for example—although executed in an ambience of casual literacy, moves in this way: of the Pompei fresco reproduced on the cover of the Oxford *Medea*. The children and tutor are posed tranquilly on the left and represent the easy former state of things, while Medea broods off to the right and dangles the knife which will change the situation against the far right border. The book designer has also been careful to set the emphatic detail of his title in the most “present” spot. (It would be interesting to observe the conventions active in Hebrew, Arabic, etc., where writing marches to the left.) Or again, linking up with the road image, the most recent point of a development is usually placed in the fore-ground of a visual depiction, that is, the point closest to us: and we are trained to look for prior and accessory events off in a corner, or set back in the perspective. (This is especially true of medieval paintings which try to show successive art.) Even with the visual image—supposedly achronic—time infiltrates the material setup, as soon as a relation is established among objects.

Thinking in images also has great linguistic and conceptual consequences. The Greek verb *arkho*, meaning “rule” or “begin,” has a root sense “to be at the top of” and takes a genitive object. This combination of ideas reflects (and may have contributed to) a hierarchy in social structure: linguistic convention allies with social habit. In the Indian languages the fact that time is depicted on a horizontal axis is taken as an integral part of the Hindu cyclical concept of time. Instances of language dictating structure (instead of the more familiar converse) abound everywhere. Levi-Strauss has summarized this social operation (*La Pensée Sauvage*, page 225): “A society which defines its segments in terms of high and low, heaven and earth, day and night, can encompass in the same structure of opposition social and moral manners of being:

reconciliation and aggression, peace and war, justice and police, good and evil, order and disorder, etc. For this reason society does not limit itself to contemplating a system of correspondences in the abstract; it furnishes to particular members of these segments a pretext to individualize themselves by these channels; and sometimes leads them on."

A kind of synaesthesia between categories which do not belong together is unavoidable and confusing: it sets up criteria which often have nothing to do with the differentiated order of things. Again it is the lesson of metaphor: nothing can be related to something else except tangentially, and no item can be considered in complete isolation; comparisons basically defeat themselves. Communication which gives itself obediently over to these essentially ridiculous mannerisms of language can hardly hope to come out with anything more than a mumbling transcription.

In Memoriam

Jay Broadus Hubbell

Jay Broadus Hubbell "probably the most widely distinguished professor ever associated with the English Department of Duke University"¹ died February 13, 1979, aged 93, busily working to the last.

Professor Hubbell was born May 8, 1885, in Smyth County, Virginia, the son of the Reverend David Shelton Hubbell and Ruth (Eller) Hubbell. He attended Windsor Academy, Windsor, Virginia, and Richmond College (now the University of Richmond) receiving his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1905. His major was Latin and Greek but his extracurricular activities were varied and far from dull, as they included both scholarly pursuits and sports. He played football, mostly on the second team, won the shot-put and the mile and half mile races on Field and Track Day, and the Crump Mathematics Prize, the Philogian Literary Society Medal for Improvement in Debate, and the Tanner Greek Award.

Following graduation he taught Latin and Greek for one year at Bethel College, Russellville, Kentucky. Then he decided to give up the classics and to devote himself to the study of English, particularly American English. At Harvard in 1906 he found little instruction in American literature, nevertheless, he undauntedly followed the prescribed curriculum and received his Master of Arts degree in 1908, an achievement which required two years since Harvard insisted that students coming from small western and southern colleges take an extra year of training.

In the fall of 1908 Jay Hubbell became an English instructor at the University of North Carolina where he also took whatever graduate courses he could manage. During the summer of 1909 he accepted a scholarship at Columbia University and that fall began his work in modern literature. Running out of money by Christmas, he was compelled to leave school and to teach first as head of the English department at Columbus (Georgia) High School, then at Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, North Carolina. He continued to teach at Wake Forest until 1914 when he returned to Columbia to pursue his studies.

Professor Hubbell accepted in 1915 a position as assistant professor of English at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

During the summer of 1918 World War I was going badly for the Allies in Europe. Feeling that he owed his country more than he had already given, Jay B. Hubbell entered the Field Artillery Central Officers' Training School at Louisville, Kentucky. He was soon commissioned first lieutenant. The end of the war in November made further training unnecessary and he was discharged. He went back to Texas, packed his bags, and taking his new wife, Lucinda Smith of Dallas, went to New York to continue his graduate work at Columbia so that he could return to Southern Methodist in the fall. In August, however, his dissertation was not completed. Reluctantly Professor Ashley Thorndike agreed to examine him on what he had finished and to let him conclude it in Dallas.

Returning to Southern Methodist, Jay Hubbell became in two years head of the English department and E. A. Lilly Professor of English. In addition to teaching and departmental affairs, he busied himself with projects which included editing the *Southwest Review*, establishing extension and correspondence courses, sponsoring poetry contests, and compiling books to be used by undergraduates as texts. He received his Doctor of Philosophy degree in 1922.

Jay B. Hubbell came to Duke University in 1927 and remained until his retirement in 1954. At Duke he continued the pattern set at Southern Methodist of innovating, writing, editing, teaching, and shaping American literary scholarship. "He never seemed as busy as he was, never hesitated to act as director of graduate studies, secretary of the board of the University Press, member of the Research Council, and the Library Council, to name only a few of the committees on whose deliberations he spent hours of precious time."² He also played an active role in developing the Library's collections especially in the field of southern literature and in making the English Department of Duke University a nationally and internationally famous center of graduate education in his field. His scholarly publications included a number of articles printed in journals, anthologies to be used as texts, and a comprehensive study of *The South in American Literature, 1607-1900* (1954). The best known of his anthologies is *American Life in Literature* which was chosen by the United States Army in World War II and abridged as a textbook for its educational programs. As a visiting Professor of American Literature and Expert to the Secretary of the United

States Army at the University of Vienna, Austria, in 1949 and 1950 and as a Fulbright Professor of American Literature and Civilization at the University of Athens, Greece, in 1953, Professor Hubbell gained the respect and admiration of many foreign students. In a letter to the Jay B. Hubbell Center in 1976 Martha Raetz, professor of American literature at the University of Vienna, wrote, "Professor Hubbell was one of the first American professors who taught at the University of Vienna after World War II, and I was one of his students at the time. He is remembered here as an outstanding teacher and scholar, who brought New World ideas and methods to us after many dark years. He has remained a staunch friend of the University."

Retirement from Duke University did not end Professor Hubbell's teaching. He was visiting professor at the University of Virginia, Clemson University, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Columbia University, Texas Technological College, and the University of Kentucky. Nor did it put an end to his creative works. *Who Are the Major American Writers?* was published in 1972. At the time of his death he was working on an article for this issue of *Library Notes*.

Jay B. Hubbell was one of the founders of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association of America and served four times as its chairman as well as chairman of many of its committees and as the instigator of many of its projects. In 1929, sponsored by the American Literature Group and underwritten by Duke University, the first scholarly journal devoted to American literature scholarship was published with Professor Hubbell as chairman of the board of editors, a position he held with distinction until his retirement in 1954. Richard R. Centing in an article which appeared in the *Serials Review* (IV, No. 2, April/June 1978) states that "It [*American Literature*] was a pioneer that established the firm bedrock for the appreciation and understanding of our native literature." Professor Hubbell strove throughout his career to promote and to raise the national literature to a place of eminence in the United States and the world; the journal with its high standards of scholarship and authorship has played a major role in that aim. It is circulated widely nationally and internationally.

Professor Hubbell was first and foremost a teacher—one who stirred the imaginations of his students, who transferred to them his own fulfillment and enthusiasm for the study of American literature, and who inspired and urged them to be creative. His

undergraduate course in American literature was popularly known at Duke as "Hubbell's English" and grew so large that it had to be divided into three sections. Jay Hubbell maintained throughout his life a deep compassion for and interest in all his students but especially his graduate students. He rejoiced in their successes, took pride in their productivity, and continued to counsel and encourage them. It can truly be said of him as Chaucer said of the Clerk of Oxenford in the *Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*, "Gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche."

Professor Hubbell "is known in all quarters where literature of the United States is the subject of advanced study and research."³ Scholars are building on the foundations he has laid.

Emerson says in his journal, "I like people who can *do* things." Emerson would have liked Jay Broadus Hubbell.

Erma P. Whittington

Librarian

Jay B. Hubbell Center

FOOTNOTES

1. Gohdes, Clarence, "Jay B. Hubbell," p. 2 (Paper written for the English Department, Duke University, September 1977).
2. Ghodes, "Jay B. Hubbell," p. 2.
3. Ghodes, Clarence, "Preface," *Essays on American Literature in Honor of Jay B. Hubbell* (Durham, N.C., 1967).

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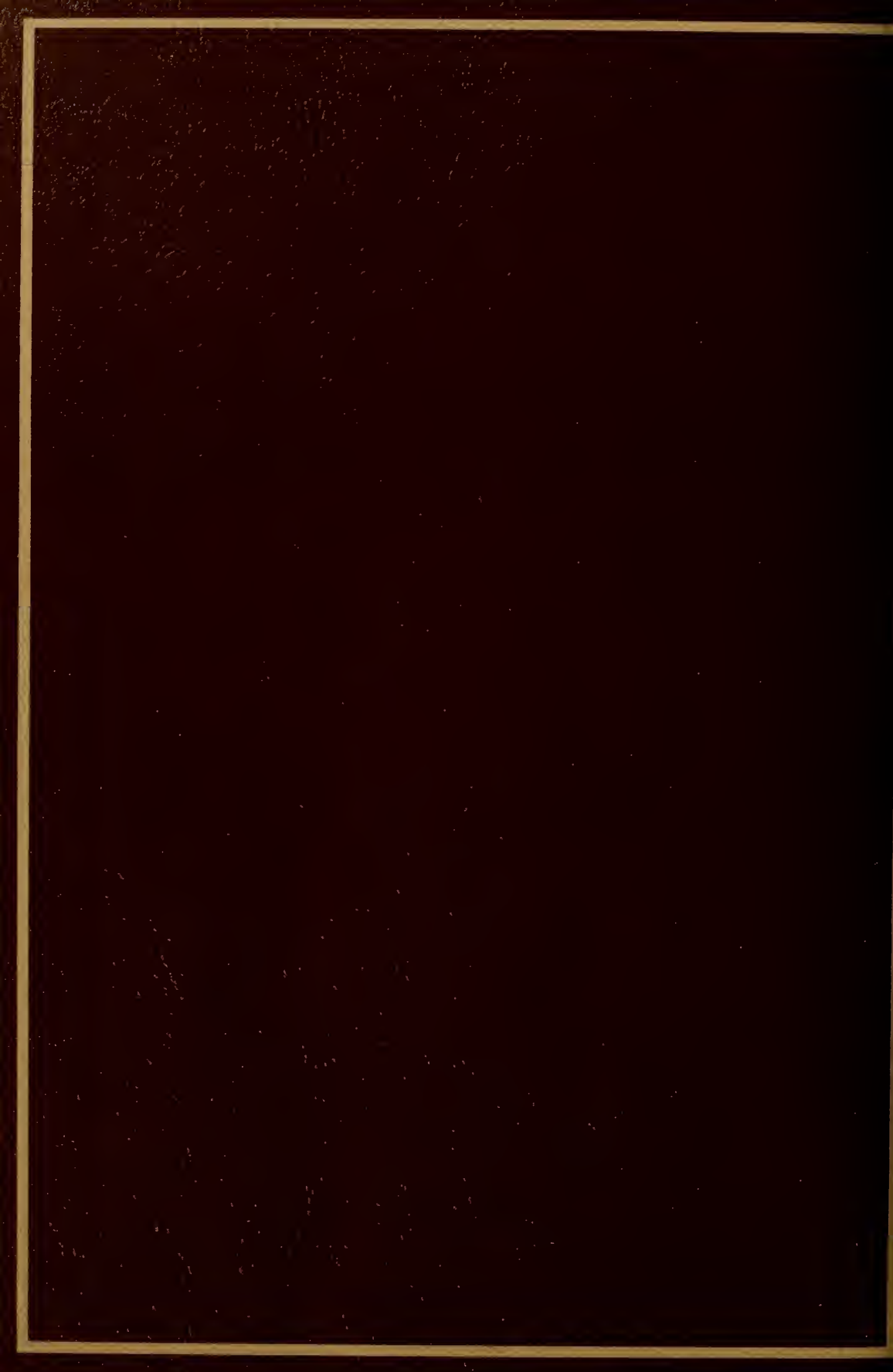
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